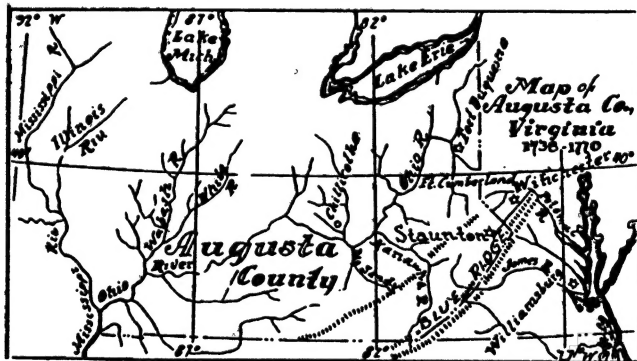


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In Memoriam

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A purpose of the Augusta County Historical Society is to publish *Augusta Historical Bulletin* to be sent without charge to all members. Single issues are available at \$4.00 per copy.

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WOMEN IN EARLY 19TH CENTURY AUGUSTA COUNTY RECORDS*

by
Lisa Hill

Along Mossy Creek, located in the Northwestern quadrant of Augusta County, sits a stone bank house listed on the Virginia Landmarks Register. This Continental bank house is an example of a stockli, the Swiss-German term for a small house set aside for retired parents. It was built in the early part of the 19th century for widow Hannah Miller. The house was the impetus for researching Hannah Miller and more broadly to study the economic independence and status of women in Augusta County for the period between 1790 and 1832. Most of what was known about Hannah Miller came from her will and inventory. These two documents prompted the questions: how unusual was it for a woman to write a will; and, what was Hannah Miller's economic status compared to other widows and/or spinsters in the county. In the course of my research I found that it wasn't unusual for a woman to write a will and that Hannah Miller was comparatively well-off. But I also discovered a lot more too.¹

Up to this point, very little has been published about women in the Shenandoah Valley. With limited secondary source material available, and not having access to or knowledge of any private records, I relied upon public records such as wills, court records, tax lists, and census data for research material.

The common denominator among the women in these documents (with a few exceptions) was that they were unmarried. For the most part they were either widowed, spinstered, or in rare cases, divorced. And, the women writing wills and paying taxes owned property. Owning and controlling property was fundamental to achieving economic independence and allowed a woman to make choices and hold power over her own life.

ACCESS TO PROPERTY

Most women's access to property came as a result of inheritance. The inheritance practices followed in the post-Revolutionary years by Augusta County men and women differed little from generations before them. Eighteenth century lawmakers in Virginia in essence codified English common law, a law which afforded women few opportunities to control property. Lawmakers here in America, as in England, accepted that the husbands held economic responsibility and authority over family resources.

But quite often when fathers, husbands or even brothers died, leaving women with property, these women could find themselves with a degree of power and responsibility. Yet economic independence directly hinged on marital status. If a woman was single she was a feme sole, and as such, she had the same legal and property rights as men, meaning she could own and devise property but not necessarily hold the political rights that accompanied property ownership. When a woman married she became a feme covert, and consequently,

¹ Lisa Hill, "Economic Independence and Status of Widows and Spinsters in Augusta County, Virginia, 1790-1832" (M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1993). Copy located in Staunton Public Library.

* Presented to the Society, Fall Meeting 1993

she lost all independent legal identity. She could not execute a deed, or sell land without her husband's permission. She could not sue or be sued, serve as trustee, administer estates or be a legal guardian. Whatever property a wife brought to a marriage, earned, or inherited belonged to him. Hence a married woman had no reason to make a will since she didn't own property.

There was an exception to this however. Under the system of equity, married women could own property in a separate estate. Separate estates varied according to the needs and whims of those creating them, and like wills, were unique documents which created various stipulations over the control and disbursement of property. With a separate estate, property owned by a wife was usually managed by the husband, but he could not sell or give it away unless she agreed. At his death, her property did not become part of his general estate and remained in the possession of the widow.

To find out what sort of regard Augusta County men had for their wives' capacity to manage family property, I surveyed 50 men's wills. This was approximately ten percent of the men's wills found in twelve will books between 1790 and 1830. As a measure of deep feeling or love toward a spouse, the wills revealed little; the terms and expressions of will-writing were fairly standard. Most husbands used the expression "I bequeath to my dearly and well beloved wife" or a variation of that. Instead, the provisions men made for their wives, whether they chose the wife as executor of the estate, and what property they left their wives through their wills were all measures used to determine a widow's economic independence.

Augusta County men tended to restrict their wives economic independence more often than to enhance it. For instance, a husband could set where and with whom his widow would live, what her annual income would be, and what provisions would be supplied to her. These lodging and food provisions rendered a widow most dependent and usually put her at the mercy of a son. This essentially denied a widow freedom of action or decision-making power over the family resources. Nearly a quarter of the testators surveyed made lodging and food provisions.

Lodging provisions ranged from use of the entire house with all the furniture in it, to a part of the house. John Givens was very specific about what rooms his widow would be allowed to occupy in his 1809 will, "the two rooms in one end of the dwelling house below and one room up stairs."² Some men simply required that sons provide annual firewood and grain. In his will, Robert Young left his son Andrew all the family's land and the responsibility for taking care of his mother and his unmarried sisters. Margaret Young was left the household furniture at her disposal and her maintenance by her son.³

Henry Miller and Michael Coiner were two testators who actually required that their executors build separate homes for their widows. Michael Coiner instructed that a "convenient warm house" was to be built by his son Christian, "near the house I now live in," - for his wife Margaret.⁴ Miller specified that his executors should provide "a comfortable house and a good garden" for his widow Hannah during her lifetime.⁵ The title to the land in each case was given to a son. In both Miller's and Coiner's wills the wife inherited livestock, slaves and furniture.

Henry Miller also added a condition to his bequest to Hannah -the house and garden was hers for her lifetime if she remained a widow. Since the property inherited by a widow became another man's property upon her remarriage, the motivation for testators to insert this restriction was to prevent their property from leaving the family line. Men wanted their property to pass to their own heirs, not those of another man. Remarriage clauses stating that a widow either forfeit her inheritance altogether or have it reduced in size became less common among Augusta County testators as the period progressed.

Another measure of economic independence was the amount of property men left women and whether they gave it outright or for life only. Twelve surveyed Augusta County testators gave their wives their entire estate. In the majority of cases where the widow was given the responsibility of raising a young family she was given more flexibility in taking care of the estate and had control of the estate in absolute, or fee simple, terms. For instance, in 1814 Robert Scott left the whole of his estate under the management of his wife Mary Scott for the purpose of supporting and schooling his children and for supporting his sister Sally. Scott directed that his wife was to judge whether to sell the land, but to make sure to reserve one quarter of an acre for a graveyard. After his son reached the age of twenty-one he allowed that his wife be able to dispose of his personal estate "as she may think proper without being accountable to any person whatsoever."⁶

For a husband to elect his wife as an executor of his estate may be seen as a vote of confidence about her abilities. Thirty-six percent of Augusta County testators surveyed trusted their wives with this job. Wealth was a factor in a husband's decision over executor choice - wealthier testators excluded their wives more often. Anyone could relinquish his or her right to administer the estate, and many women did so. It could be a difficult and unwanted task. Yet some women faced the challenge, even when it was more than what they bargained for. In 1797 Catherine Caldwell found herself taking over the administration of two estates after her husband John died. She became the sole executor of his estate, but since John's mother Elizabeth named her son executor in her will, when they both died within months of each other the administration of Elizabeth's estate fell to Catherine also.⁷

Under the system of coverture a woman was protected from absolute deprivation. The law guaranteed her at least a dower, which was a life interest in a third of her husband's real property. If a husband did not leave his widow her dower's share, she had the right to renounce the provisions he made and claim her thirds. Few Augusta County or Staunton women renounced their inheritances. Between 1782 and 1832, not more than four widows could be identified as having chosen this legal tool as an option.

But as the next story will show, suing for dower could have meant severe consequences. Taking dower might easily infringe on the legacies of other heirs. Once a free woman, anyone, even children, could begin legal action against her. The threat of being sued, to a legally inexperienced woman, might have been a powerful deterrent. When Mary Link, widow of Mathias Link renounced her inheritance, (which was the use of the house and forty dollars annually), for her dower, in March 1815, her son John launched a legal effort to curtail her control over the land which he stood to inherit. He brought a suit of injunction against his 69 year old mother before the Superior Court of Chancery. He charged that she was "committing very great waste on the land assigned her," because he wanted to prevent her from clearing any of the land. Fifteen months later, she defended herself stating that she had

² Will Book 11, 121, Augusta County Courthouse.

³ Will Book 8, 54.

⁴ Will Book 8, 286.

⁵ Will Book 1A, 23.

⁶ Will Book 12, 209.

⁷ Will Book 8, 274; cited in Lyman Chalkley, Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, vol. 2, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), 211-12.

cleared less than two acres to raise flax, potatoes and a truck garden, and had used the timber for fences and firewood. In her opinion, if it was injurious to clear the land, the seven or eight acres John had cleared was more injurious. She thought that John was "unkind and undutiful" to "harass" her. In 1816 the court agreed with her request for a commissioner to look into her land management and the dismissal of the suit, but the injunction was not dissolved in court until December 1820, three years after her death and five years after the suit was launched.⁸

Women's access to property was most frequently through inheritance, but not exclusively. A married woman could receive, own and control property if the marriage ended through divorce, if the couple separated, or if a separate estate was established for the woman. Divorce, though cumbersome and uncommon, did occur in Augusta County. Absolute divorces, (as opposed to divorce from bed and board) gave a woman her feme sole status and allowed her to remarry, but the Virginia legislature had to be petitioned for the divorce to be granted.

The most notable divorce case of an Augusta County couple was granted not in Virginia, but in Georgia. A Staunton widow Margaret Reed, whose first husband died in 1787, married General George Mathews in 1790. Mathews, who was a member of Congress at the time of the marriage and then Governor of Georgia, was from a prominent Augusta County family. In 1793 Margaret Mathews was in Staunton when she suffered an injury and was forced to spend several months in bed healing. During this period General Mathews served his wife with notice of his intention to apply to the Georgia legislature for divorce. In the ensuing battle carried out through letters, the self-signed "persecuted husband" demanded that his wife return, acknowledge her error, and perform her wifely duties. The "afflicted wife" charged her husband with cruelty and refused. When she sought funds to pay legal counsel, Mathew's agent refused Margaret the money. Instead, a counsel hired with money supplied by her friends defended her interests and petitioned the Georgia Legislature for alimony. Georgia passed an act divorcing the couple in 1797.⁹

Meanwhile, Mrs. Mathews sued General Mathews in the County Court of Augusta to regain possession of her first husband's estate, Robert Reed. In the suit against General Mathews, the court judged in favor of Margaret who took back the name Reed and lived out her life in Staunton.

Another type of divorce, from bed and board, could be obtained from courts of chancery. The wife would generally receive an alimony payment for her support and the husband retained control of the family property. In this case, neither had the right to remarry until death of the other. In 1798, thirteen years into her second marriage, Catherine Merritt sought a divorce from bed and board from her husband Samuel Merritt for reason of adultery. Catherine was awarded an alimony of \$30 per month. She died the next year, and in her will she identified herself as wife of Valentine Cloninger, her first husband. She bequeathed her entire estate to her friend Augustine Argenbright. Samuel, who within three months of Catherine's death had married Eleanor Rhyne the mother of his illegitimate children, twice objected to the will in court. In the settlement with Argenbright, Samuel agreed to release all his claims on the estate of Catherine, and Augustine agreed to pay Samuel \$96 in addition to the court costs.¹⁰

⁸ Paxton Link, The Link Family, (privately printed, 1951), 75-76; Superior Court of Chancery Records, Augusta County.

⁹ Joseph A. Waddell, Annals of Augusta County, Virginia From 1726 to 1871 (Staunton, VA: C. Russell Caldwell, 1902) 362-366.

¹⁰ Will Book 9, 182; Will Book 9, 174; Order Book 24, 372.

Another option for estranged couples was legal separation, an easier and more practical process than divorce. Legal separations were private agreements that often appear in the form of a post-nuptial agreement obtained through a court of equity. Oftentimes, a third party was involved as trustee for the wife. Phillip North and his wife Margaret recorded their separation in Augusta County in 1809. The document indicated that a difference had existed for some time between Phillip and Margaret North and that they had lived and expected to live separate and apart from each other. He agreed to sell to Erasmus Stribling, trustee for Margaret, his household and kitchen furniture and his slaves. Furthermore, the agreement specified that North was not to step upon the estate where Margaret was living. Margaret was to maintain and educate her daughter and Phillip agreed to clothe and pay for his son's education.¹¹

Marriage settlements and prenuptial agreements were a form of separate estates, where women could own property inside marriage. Although these agreements were not common in Augusta County, three were identified in the records between 1790 and 1840. Their usage remained rare throughout the nineteenth century. In the 1793 marriage settlement between William Alexander and his bride Maria Agatha de La Porte, William gave Maria several hundred acres of land in Augusta County, slaves, and animal stock. In return Maria renounced all right of dower. Maria's mother served as trustee.¹²

WOMEN'S ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Augusta County widows and spinsters became increasingly active in the local economy in the early nineteenth century. A couple of barometers of women's public activity is their participation in writing wills and paying taxes. Over time both increased. From 1790 to 1830 an increasing number of wills probated in Augusta County belonged to women. Whereas in the 1790 decade only about 10 percent of the wills written belonged to women, by the 1820 decade, it jumped to 27 percent. Women wrote approximately 18 percent of all the wills identified in 12 will books covering the 1790 to 1830 time period.

I surveyed ninety wills of women, approximately 78 percent of all women's wills probated in Augusta County and Staunton for this period. The index to the will books further identified other types of documents listed under female names, such as agreements, bonds, deeds, and relinquishments which were compiled into a list associated by female names and the type of document.

By revealing what they opted to do with their property, these public documents offer a glimpse into the values and attitudes of single women, both widows and spinsters. The wills of Augusta County women reflect distinct differences from those of the men. Generally men were concerned with continuing the family line; wives, sons, and daughters were the primary recipients of a man's wealth. Augusta County women, on the other hand, were more flexible in their testamentary decisions. The heirs of a widow, for instance, may have already received land and wealth from their father. A greater number of near kin - grandchildren, nieces, nephews, brothers, and sisters - appear in the bequests made by women.

Women's wills reflect a sense of personalism, which is not surprising when considering that the majority of what they owned consisted of personal property. Women's

¹¹ Phillip North and Stribling, 1809, Will Book 11, 40.

¹² Deed Book 1-A, 119.

wills, more so than men's, spell out which child, grandchild or niece was to have a bed, a favorite saddle, or a particular dress. Take for instance, Agnes McGuffin, who in 1829 gave her son Archibald the family bible, her son Samuel her bed, her daughter Elizabeth all her clothes to divide among all her granddaughters. Then she singled out two special granddaughters, one of whom she gave the green chest and large looking glass, and the other her saddle, bridle, and a flax wheel. Of course, some women, like men, simply specified an equal division of their estate among their heirs.¹³

The wills of both Augusta County men and women show evidence of discrimination, but more women than men tended to take under consideration special needs or circumstances of the people to whom they bequeathed legacies. Additionally, since many women were dependent on their sons or daughters for care and sustenance in their elder years, it is not unusual to find women rewarding their caretakers. For example, Sarah Lambert gave her daughter an extra \$40 as a small compensation for her "filial affection for me in my old age". Elizabeth Braiden wrote that as a consequence of the great attention and care which was paid her in her old age by her son George and daughter Elizabeth, her will and desire was for them to receive her entire estate divided between them, this at the exclusion of her other children who received one dollar each "as a token of my remembrances of them."¹⁴

Just as Braiden used her will to reward her caretakers, Catherine Clements and Susannah King used their wills as security in old age, by promising more inheritance to an heir providing that a son or daughter took good care of them until they died.¹⁵ Elizabeth Woolwine gave her daughter exclusive rights to her estate, and because she believed she had nothing worth a division, she gave the rest of her children "a mother's blessing".¹⁶

Whether a spinster or a widow, an adult single woman was faced with managing both public and private affairs on her own. Some women managed well. Business opportunities were likely in the towns of Greenville, Waynesborough, and Staunton, where a number of women either lived or owned property. In 1807 Elizabeth Harmon advertised in the Staunton Eagle her intent to carry on her deceased husband's hatting business: "Hats of all kinds" and "Cash and highest price given for all kinds of fur and lambs wool", she advertised. Six years later, Harmon offered a ten dollar reward to anyone who could put in jail her apprentice, James Flack.¹⁷ Another source of income for women who were landowners was the land itself; renting property was a source of profit. Catherine Hawpe, co-executor of Adam Hawpe's estate, advertised a tanyard for rent in 1805.¹⁸

The tax records identified those paying for business license: Mary Birkle was among eleven paying for an ordinary license in 1800; Martha Wilson was among thirteen in 1822. In 1820 Fanny Mitchell paid a \$4.50 tax on what the tax list identified as a "house of private entertainment". Finally Mary Glenn was one of just a few people paying for a merchants license in 1830.¹⁹

Services that women were best suited to provide to the community included birthing and child care. In 1788, midwife Elizabeth Burke delivered the first child of William Hutchinson but the child was stillborn. William Hutcheson sued Elizabeth's husband for her negligence. A deposition by Mary Lockhart, a witness to the event, described what happened at the birthing. Mary Hutcheson had had a difficult time in labor, but had not cooperated with the midwife, who "appeared to be careful and tender of Mrs. Hutcheson." Although at the time, Mr. and Mrs. Hutcheson said that Mrs. Burke was not to blame, Mr. Hutcheson changed his mind and sued. Four years later, the jury dismissed the case.²⁰

For the majority of women, participation in the local economy simply did not show up in the public records. Instead, women participated in a domestic economy, a bartering system of services and domestic goods. Responsibilities the rural women of Augusta County faced included the tasks involved in running a farm, cooking, washing, gardening, spinning, and sewing. Augusta County ranked fifth in Virginia in the production of linen. Many of the wills and inventories listed flax, wool, spinning wheels, looms and other tools for textile production. In 1822 Catherine Hawk left her loom with all the harnesses and slays to her son John and her big wheel and two flax wheels to her granddaughter Caty Gregory.²¹

In the 1830s some Augusta County women's participation in the community slipped beyond economic and domestic activities into the political realm. By using the process of petitioning the General Assembly, some women participated in the abolition movement of the times. Owning and renting slaves was not unknown to Augusta County men or women. At least 44 percent of the women whose wills were surveyed were slaveholders. Three women emancipated slaves in their wills. By far, Mary Stephenson was the largest slaveholder among Augusta County women; in 1816 she emancipated all 21 of her slaves in her will.²²

After Nat Turner's rebellion in Southampton County in August of 1831 the General Assembly in its 1831-32 session came close to abolishing slavery. In December of that year, at the height of the abolition fervor in the General Assembly, John M. McCue, the delegate from Augusta, presented to the Assembly both a speech and a petition signed by 215 ladies, the purpose of which was for a general emancipation of Virginia slaves.

This petition demonstrates the strong feelings these women petitioners had on the issue of slavery. Noteworthy is women's tone of confidence, their conviction that they have every right to speak out. It is worth quoting at length.

The women addressed their petition to their "fathers and brothers", those with "the political power of the land". The petition begins by stating that "although it be unexampled in our beloved state that females should interfere in its political concerns... yet we hold our right to do so to be unquestionable," they wrote:

...our fears we admit, as great,...but we do not concede that they spring from the superstitious timidity of our sex. Alas! we are indeed timid but we appeal to your manly reason, to your more mature wisdom, to attest the justice and propriety of our fears,...

Tell us not of the labor and hardships we shall endure when our handservants shall be removed from us, they have no terrors for us. Those labors and

¹³ Will Book 17, 82.

¹⁴ Will Book 14, 4; Will Book 10, 160.

¹⁵ Will Book 8, 60; Will Book 12, 452.

¹⁶ Staunton Will Book 1, 160.

¹⁷ Staunton Eagle, September 25, 1807; People's Friend, October 2, 1813

¹⁸ Candid Review, May 3, 1805.

¹⁹ Augusta County tax records.

²⁰ Hutcheson vs. Burke, Drawer 445, March 1792.

²¹ Will Book 14, 169.

²² Will Book 12, 307.

hardships cannot be greater, or so great as those we now endure in providing for and ruling the faithless beings who are subjected to us...

Do not disregard our fears...Our destiny is identified with yours. If we perish, Alas! what will become of you and your offspring?"

We are no political economists, but our domestic employment, our engagements in rearing up the children of our husbands and brothers, our intimate concern with the intercourse and prosperity of society we presume cannot but inform us of the great and elementary principles of that important science... What is a nation but a family upon a large scale?

...our reflections and reasonings have taught us that the peace of our homes, the welfare of society, the prosperity of future generations call aloud and imperatively for some decision and efficient measure [that being] the extinction of slavery from amongst us.²³

Clearly, Augusta County women were more than aware of the debate over slavery; they were participants in it. Their opinions may not have been representative of all women, but certainly the values expressed in their words reveal a strong current of independent, distinctly female, views.

For the widows and spinsters of Augusta County in the early nineteenth century, constraints placed by men on their economic control of property served to limit their authority in the family and in public, yet women operated within these constraints. They were participants in a rural domestic economy, operated businesses, rented and sold property, and emancipated slaves. And they boldly joined in the political debate over the abolition of slavery.

²³ "Memorial of the Ladies of Augusta to the General Assembly of Virginia," 19 January 1832, Legislative Petitions, Augusta County, 1825-1833 located in the Virginia State Library.

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Fighting For The Union: The Political Culture of Anti-Sectionalism in Augusta County, Virginia, 1850-1861*

Part I

By Michael David Lesperance



August 1993

* A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of Master of Arts

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"If we cannot stay the wave of fanaticism that is rolling down from the North to engulf us and if, on the other hand, we cannot arrest the incendiaryism of the South, all is lost."¹

Unionism, Nationalism, and Political Culture

Most histories of the decade before the Civil War concentrate on the numerous sectional crises which increased tensions between the northern free states and the southern slave states. The drama reached its climax with the November 1860 Presidential election of free-soiler Abraham Lincoln, an event that resulted in the secession of seven Deep South states and the formation of the Confederate States of America. With the outbreak of war at Fort Sumter and the exodus of the Upper South states from the Union, the tragic battle lines were drawn.²

This paper will examine the reactions of the people of Augusta County, Virginia, to the "Crisis of the 1850s." It will portray the threats to the Union through their eyes and chronicle the clear-headed advice they preached in a vain attempt to avert the war they feared was coming. Rather than focus merely on quantitative analyses of voting returns, the essay seeks to define a political culture, a set of values and beliefs held by average citizens about the nature of the Union and their county's place in it. In this light, Unionism becomes identifiable as an integral part of their culture.

A careful analysis of Augusta County newspapers demonstrates the consistent position taken by both the Whig and Democratic parties with regard to the federal Union. This may be summed up in four parts: the federal system of government was "the greatest and best government the world has ever seen"; the maintenance of the government depended upon strict adherence to the laws as spelled out in the Constitution; these laws mandated equal treatment without regard to sectional interests; and that if the laws were not upheld, or had to be upheld by force, the Union "itself would part like a snow wreath."³

As the great histories on the decade make clear, sectional tensions threatened to obviate the enforcement of the laws, deny equal treatment without sectional bias, and promote physical compulsion. Most histories identify slavery as the single most important factor in sectional disputes. Certainly the editors of the Augusta papers agreed. They did not think, however, that the issue was insurmountable, largely because they saw slavery as one

¹ W. M. Elliot to John D. Imboden, August 27, 1860, Imboden Papers, University of Virginia.

² The best history of this period remains David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976). Other books stressing the consequences and causes of sectionalism include Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York: MacMillan, 1948) and Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (New York: Wiley, 1978).

³ *Staunton Vindicator*, November 30, 1860; *Staunton Spectator*, November 20, 1850.

interest among many. Slavery is mentioned very rarely in their discussions of sectional tensions. They chose instead to stress the interests shared between sections, to convince northern and southern partisans that agitation over slavery was not worth the "price of the Union." In a real sense, the people of Augusta County were among the last antebellum American nationalists.

Recently, historians Daniel Crofts, Shearer Davis Bowman, and Peter Knupfer have begun to focus on the Upper South's "reluctant Confederates" who thwarted secession in Tennessee, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Virginia until the threat of hostile action forced them to leave the Union. Typically called Unionists, the ideas of the men—women have yet to be examined—who resisted sectional pressure have not been studied with sufficient depth or clarity. Unionism was neither a reactionary doctrine nor only a desperate attempt to preserve the nation. It was, rather, a series of long-held values and beliefs about the benefits of American nationhood and the obligations of citizenship in "these United States."⁴

The most thoughtful interpretations of Unionism have come from David Potter and Daniel Crofts. Potter deals with Unionists in several books and articles, but his most important contribution appears in the essay, "The Historian's Use of Nationalism, and Vice Versa." This brilliant article does much to get beyond the hubris of war and southern defeat and stresses the importance of cultural interests shared by both sections of the country. Potter asserts that Unionist ideology consisted of a combination of self-interests and cultural precepts, emphasizing the transience of the division wrought by the war and showing that slavery was not the only interest, albeit an issue that required a bloody conflict to resolve.⁵

Recently, Daniel Crofts has led historians back to the long-ignored topic discussed in this essay. In *Reluctant Confederates*, he argues that "three waves" swept through the Upper South between November 1860 and April 1861: Lincoln's election was a high point for secessionists; the Upper South Conventions represented a Unionist "turning of the tide"; and, finally, Lincoln's call for troops, which gained secessionists the victory they so long sought. Crofts also discusses the importance of a strong two-party system and the relative lack of slavery as key factors in Unionists' ability to garner popular support.⁶

Both Potter and Crofts tend to depict Unionists as reactionaries striving to prevent secessionist impulses in the Upper South. Certainly Unionists did fight southern extremists and they battled valiantly in the final days before Fort Sumter to preserve the Union. Yet, if

⁴ The most exhaustive study, although chiefly confined to the period between November 1860 and April 1861, is Daniel W. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989). See also Shearer Davis Bowman, "Conditional Unionism and Slavery in Virginia, 1860-1861: The Case of Dr. Richard Eppes," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XCVI (January 1988), pp. 31-54. Nichols and Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), also touch on Unionists. A recent effort by Peter B. Knupfer, *The Union as it Is: Constitutional Unionism and Sectional Compromise, 1787-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), argues that the concept of compromise was ensconced in Unionist thought from the time of the crafting of the Constitution. While reliance upon compromise was an important tenet of American Federalism, it was not the dominant concept behind Unionism.

⁵ David M. Potter, "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa," in *The South and the Sectional Crisis* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1968), pp. 34-83.

⁶ Shearer Davis Bowman has argued that southern Unionists' devotion to slavery was the major factor in their withdrawal from the Union. See Bowman, "Constitutional Unionism."

the experience of Augusta County Unionists is any indication, the arguments in favor of the Federal Union in 1861 were essentially the same ones made during the entire decade before the Civil War. To paint Unionists as defensive reactionaries struggling to reach a compromise is to misunderstand the essential components behind Unionist thought. In Augusta County, there were no "waves," only quiet resentment and determination in the wake of a perceived sectionally motivated war.

An understanding of Unionism must begin and remain in the context of nationalism, "a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent."⁷ A particularly persuasive interpretation of nationalism is posed by Benedict Anderson, who defines it as an "imagined community" limited in scope by the information passed on to citizens through newspapers and other sources that by definition imply "the refraction of even 'world events' into a specified imagined world of vernacular readers." Anderson's thesis about the importance of print capitalism was borne out by the experience of Augusta County.⁸

Eric Hobsbawm applauds Anderson's concept and explores the reasons why people would wish to imagine communities. He finds that feelings of collective belonging, rooted not in ethnicity, language, or religion, but in "holy icons," which he defines as symbols and rituals or common collective practices "which alone give a palpable reality to the otherwise imagined community," explain the cultural components of nationalism. He suggests that nationalism is a blend of official attitudes and the usually differing views of ordinary citizens. Reiterating the point made by Potter, Hobsbawm concludes, "we cannot assume that for most people national identification . . . excludes or is always or ever superior to the remainder of the set of identifications which constitute the social being. In fact, it is always combined with identifications of another kind, even when it is felt to be superior to them."⁹

Potter's 1968 essay "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa" places Hobsbawm's observation in the context of the American South. Potter notes that sectionalism and nationalism "are not necessarily polar or antithetical forces, even though circumstances may cause them to work in opposition to one another." The South's interests never reflected cultural differences; when the region perceived its interests to be in jeopardy, "cultural affinities with the majority [seemed] irrelevant."¹⁰

This essay will argue that Unionism should be understood as nationalism. Certainly it meets the standards suggested in the recent literature. Hobsbawm asserts that "the most pervasive criterion of proto-nationalism" is the "consciousness of belonging . . . to a lasting political entity." To the Unionists of Augusta County, nationalism consisted of devotion to the "historic mission" and "common historic memories" of the nation. "What characterized the nation-people as seen from below was precisely that it represented the common interest against particular interests."¹¹

⁷ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1983), p. 1.

⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised edition (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 6, 63. The debate over what constitutes an individual's conception of "the nation" is beyond the scope of this essay. A good discussion of the subject is in the introduction to Eric Hobsbawm's *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁹ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, pp. 46-73, 11.

¹⁰ Potter, "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa," pp. 47, 79.

¹¹ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, pp. 73, 20.

In this context, Unionism, nationalism, and anti-sectionalism may be taken to mean much the same thing.¹² To the citizens of "Old Augusta" during the 1850s, the pursuit of regional interests were viewed as ill-disguised attempts at patricide. Horrified that southern radicals' plans for secession would prompt northern reprisals, and uncertain of how to quell the sectional insurgents, Augustans watched their imagined community steadily erode. An examination of Augusta's social and political history provides the basis for a discussion of a political culture whose participants viewed northern and southern extremism as the greatest threats to their way of life.

Located in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, Augusta County was, until the Civil War, sandwiched between the earlier-settled, English-bred, and slaveholding cultures of the Piedmont and Tidewater to the east and the frontier-forging, Scotch-Irish, free-labor communities of the Trans-Alleghenies to the west. The socio-economic and cultural differences between eastern and western Virginia—with which Augusta County identified itself—form an important backdrop to the political events examined in this essay. Before entering into a discussion of Unionism in the region, the foundation of Augustans' political culture can be discerned through a review of the social and political heritage of the county between its settlement and the late antebellum period.

Economic and Social Developments

Although scattered settlements of German immigrants from Pennsylvania are recorded as early as 1726, and some Scotch-Irish arrived in 1732, the demography of Augusta County took shape as a result of a 1736 land grant to William Beverly from the Virginia Council. To populate his new lands, Beverly recruited immigrants from the Scotch-Irish population of Ulster, Northern Ireland. Nearly all of these early settlers landed at Philadelphia and journeyed down the Valley along the Great Wagon Road, which bisected the region from North to South. More important, most of the immigrants came in family units and paid for their own expenses, including the land they purchased from Beverly. Along with the Scotch-Irish came many Germans, often non-English speaking.¹³

Originally attractive to immigrants because of cheap land, a lack of Indian settlements, a well-defined route of travel, and government encouragement, Augusta County had by 1800 become the most populous, wealthiest, and commercially oriented county in the Valley. The Scotch-Irish majority, 58 percent of the 1775 population and steeped in commercial traditions, helps to illuminate many of the future social and political orientations of "Old Federal Augusta."¹⁴

¹² Anti-sectionalism can apply to both North-South tension and the internal friction between eastern and western Virginia. For the purposes of this paper's argument, unless specifically stated, anti-sectionalism refers to the North-South antagonism.

¹³ Robert D. Mitchell, "The Upper Shenandoah Valley in Virginia During the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969), pp. 68-69; Alison Goodyear Freehling, *Drift Toward Dissolution: The Virginia Slavery Debate of 1831-1832* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), pp. 12-13; John Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia*, Second Edition (Bridgewater, Virginia: C.J. Carrier, 1953), pp. 41, 53.

¹⁴ Mitchell, "The Upper Shenandoah Valley," p. 218. Among the other Valley counties, only Rockbridge also had a majority of Scotch-Irish.

Unlike Virginians east of the Blue Ridge, residents of Augusta County relied on their skills as artisans and small farmers to create a self-sufficient community. Not dependant upon the single-crop agriculture of Tidewater English colonists, Valley Germans and Scotch-Irish adopted practices such as crop rotation to conserve the soil. Also in contrast to the gentry of the East, Augustans did not view physical labor as demeaning; they built and maintained their own farms and shops.¹⁵

Influenced by religious teachings, Irish and German heritages, and a culture that praised physical labor, Virginians west of the Blue Ridge largely rejected slavery throughout the eighteenth century. Instead, a society of primarily nonslaveholding white yeomen, artisans, and mechanics evolved into a democratic, essentially middle-class structure, "more akin to the free-soil North and West than to the slaveholding Tidewater and Piedmont."¹⁶

It is important, however, not to overstate this dichotomy. The introduction of hemp in the 1760s created a labor-intensive crop and encouraged the use of slaves. Nearly 75 percent of hemp farmers were Scotch-Irish. Augusta County therefore became the foremost Valley producer of this export-oriented crop. Where slavery had been nonexistent in 1755, by 1790 slaves made up 14 percent of the county's population. Sixty percent of slaveholders owned more than one slave.¹⁷

In addition to encouraging slavery, hemp production increased the commercial consciousness of the county; Augustans opened and solidified trade connections with Baltimore and Philadelphia. Staunton, as it had been since its founding, was the locus of this activity. Indeed, the county seat represented the only place in the upper Valley during the colonial period at which major trading activities were conducted. When hemp was supplanted by wheat during the Revolutionary War, the established trade patterns continued.¹⁸

After the War of Independence, export farming in the county increased dramatically. New roads, canals, and an expanded role as the geographic and economic intermediary between the Atlantic seaboard and the emerging western frontier areas contributed to its export orientation. An improving transportation network first connected Augusta County to the rest of the Valley, then to Philadelphia, Lancaster, Baltimore, and finally, in the late 1850s, Richmond.¹⁹

Although canal projects along the James and Potomac Rivers promised new outlets for trade to Richmond and Baltimore, respectively, Augusta County—directly linked to

¹⁵ Alison Goodyear Freehling, *Drift Toward Dissolution*, pp. 31-32. See Appendix, Table 2, for a breakdown of Augusta farms in 1850 and 1860.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁷ Mitchell, "The Upper Shenandoah Valley," pp. 208, 236, 363; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *First Census of the United States: 1790. Population Schedule*. See Appendix, Tables 1 through 5, especially 2 and 5. The county remained ambiguous about the peculiar institution. In Assembly debates in 1832, Augusta's delegates presented petitions urging the abolition of slavery. Charles H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia From 1776 to 1861*, reprinted (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1964), p. 189; Joseph A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, from 1726 to 1871*, second edition, reprinted (Harrisonburg, Virginia: C. J. Carrier Company, 1979), p. 414. They also supported the moderate anti-slavery proposals made during the debates. Alison Goodyear Freehling, *Drift Toward Dissolution*, p. 275.

¹⁸ Mitchell, "The Upper Shenandoah Valley," pp. 326, 360-365. Quotation on p. 326. Because of the geographic features of the Shenandoah mountain area, the upper Valley refers to the southern part of the Valley.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 407. See note number 26, below.

neither waterway—favored turnpikes and, later, railroads to connect Staunton, the Valley's most important center for external trade, to the East and North. Until the completion of the Virginia Central (later the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad) linked Augusta's county seat to the capital in 1854, the Great Valley Road, with Staunton as its terminus, remained the principal export route, with trade heading through Winchester to Baltimore, Lancaster, Georgetown, and Alexandria. Various turnpikes connected villages like Greenville, Churchville, and Waynesboro to the central trade artery. By the end of the 1850s, the Orange and Alexandria road met the Virginia Central in Gordonsville, providing Augusta County with enhanced connections to the New York-Philadelphia-Baltimore trade. The Staunton and Parkersburg Turnpike, carrying light traffic, connected the Valley to Ohio.²⁰

Perhaps because of its central location, Augusta County reflected economic and cultural dispositions of both eastern and western Virginia. While the county had fewer slaves than the Tidewater, it was less free than its neighbors to the west. During the period from 1850 to 1860, Augusta's free population increased at a slower rate than the statewide average, while its slave population actually increased at a faster rate. Nevertheless, slavery was rarely mentioned in the county newspapers during the period. This is reflective of the ambiguous light in which the peculiar institution was held by many western Virginians. In a revealing entry in his diary, *Staunton Spectator* editor Joseph Waddell, forced by the death of a relative in 1856 to sell some slaves, wrote, "this thing of speculating in human flesh is utterly horrible to me. Slavery is entirely repulsive to my feelings, and I earnestly desire its extinction everywhere." After reminding himself of the difficulties associated with such sentiments, however, and expressing the hope that someday a calm environment might prevail so that slavery could be discussed rationally he concluded, "I am no abolitionist."²¹

Reflecting the success of its farmers, by 1850 the largest county in the state had bigger than average farms and ranked first in the state in the value of both farms and farming equipment, a distinction that continued until the Civil War.²² During the 1850s, Augusta County continued to produce corn, hay, and dairy products in great numbers and support large stocks of horses and cattle. Reflecting the traditions established during the period of hemp farming, tobacco and cotton were relative nonentities in Augusta, as wheat, oats, rye, and butter replaced the earlier crops as export staples.²³

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 447. Staunton merchants were among the most vocal advocates of internal improvements. Responding to sectional agitation and recognizing the benefits of establishing a stronger trade with the west, eastern Virginians pushed for three major projects toward this end: construction of a road linking the lower Valley city of Winchester to Alexandria and Fredericksburg; clearance of the Potomac River which ran along the state's northern border; and the creation of a canal system along the James River, which connected Richmond to the upper Valley city of Lynchburg. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, pp. 46-51.

²¹ The ratio of free people to slaves in Augusta County was nearly twice that of the state of Virginia. See Appendix, Table 1. For a brief discussion of the tensions, see William W. Freehling, "The Editorial Revolution, Virginia, and the Coming of the Civil War: A Review Essay," *Civil War History*, XVI (March, 1970), pp. 67, 71. The quotation is in Waddell's Diary, October 15, 1856, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

²² In 1860, 82% of the county's farms—as opposed to 69% of the states—were larger than 50 acres. From *U.S. Bureau of the Census. Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Agricultural Schedule*. See Appendix, Table 6.

²³ See Appendix, Table 7. Although the 40,727 pounds of tobacco produced in 1860 might seem like a lot, it represented an output equivalent to that of one good size plantation.

Industry in the county, encouraged from an early date by commercially minded Scotch-Irish, played a secondary but healthy role. Although the number of employed hands remained constant, capital invested tripled and the value of production increased by 72 percent between 1850 and 1860. Again reflecting the individual, entrepreneurial nature of its constituency, Augusta County had twice as many manufacturing establishments per capita as the Virginia average. Grist mills accounted for nearly a third of the total, as opposed to one-fourth of the state's total. For a county that was two-thirds Whig, it might appear ironic that Augusta was home to nearly eight times more distilleries than the state average; the healthy regard of the Scottish for whiskey, and the ease with which bottled grains could be transported, explains this apparent inconsistency.²⁴

Richmond was Augusta County's main outside connection as the 1860s dawned; nevertheless, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York stood as important influences on the cultural and social conditions of the area. Advertisements in the *Staunton Spectator* between 1850 and 1860 reveal that New York and Philadelphia provided Staunton merchants with clothing, machine tools, guns, and jewelry. In fact, before the internal improvements of the mid-1850's, Richmond lagged well behind the northern cities in advertising space. As the decade progressed the capital became the primary outlet for "all consignments of Wheat, Flour, Corn, and Produce generally."²⁵

By the beginning of the last decade of the antebellum era, Augusta's citizens partook of the "most fashionable styles to be found in the New York Market," and enjoyed fine "wines, liquors, [and] segars" from Philadelphia. During the height of a "buy Southern goods" movement in 1855, an Alexandria dealer's promotion urged Augusta merchants "disposed to confine their dealings to their own state" to buy goods from his store—goods obtained from the North and including tea, candles, and "Boston Syrup." In January 1860, two months after Lincoln's election, booksellers Gould & Lincoln asked consumers to send inquiries directly to their Boston office. By 1860, Richmond and Baltimore dominated the advertising pages, but the goods they hawked often bore northern labels.²⁶

Though a sketch of Augusta's citizenry does not illustrate why they became such ardent nationalists, it does provide insight into the county's interests. Small, export-producing farmers, the people of the county formed a pro-commercial outlook and supported programs designed to strengthen transportation routes and ensure ready markets, North and South. Many white Augustans were steeped in a commercial tradition, possessed enough assets to have developed a keen awareness of economic activities, and cultivated devotion to a strong nationalism as the best guarantor of their interests.

²⁴ See Appendix, Tables 8 and 9.

²⁵ *Staunton Spectator*, January 1, 1850; January 10, 1860. Of 96 advertisements, only 1 came from Richmond. 6 originated from New York and 11 from Philadelphia. By 1860, these numbers were more than reversed, with northern advertisements accounting for only 13 of the 170 entries. For an argument of Richmond's importance in Valley trade from 1765 on, see Mitchell, "The Upper Shenandoah Valley," pp. 447-458.

²⁶ *Staunton Spectator*, January 1, 1850; January 3, 1855; January 10, 1860.

Political Development to 1850

Social, cultural, geographic, and economic factors combined after the War of Independence to create in Augusta County a political culture predisposed to a strong central government and, later, a devotion to Unionism. Unlike the people of the established English counties east of the Blue Ridge Mountains, the majority of Augusta County's immigrant population, like most western Virginians, had no real connections before the Revolutionary War to the heritage of Virginia. Although the War fortified those ties, independence provided the immigrants with a new country to which they now pledged allegiance. The United States, not Virginia, became the settlers' earliest object of patriotic veneration.²⁷

The Revolutionary War also created situations which fortified Augusta County's nationalism. Located along the precarious frontier, people west of the Blue Ridge looked to a strong United States to mobilize inter-state capacities to confront hostile Indians and also to ensure British compliance with the Treaty of Paris, which mandated the evacuation of potential Indian allies from western forts.²⁸

One of the issues which threatened to delay the British departure also provides insight into the later political orientation of the county. The peace treaty declared pre-war debts owed by colonists to English merchants legally binding, and many eastern Virginians, who owed heavily, opposed payment. Westerners were largely unburdened by such claims and pressed for "creditor" legislation and prompt payment of debts. This dispute provided the first issue upon which early political coalitions were formed. In the House of Delegates, Augusta County's Archibald Stuart reflected his constituents' positions by supporting James Madison's nationalistic program. The dispute during the 1780s over paper money overshadowed social, non-partisan issues including slavery, education, and the status of the Church of England.²⁹

Political scholar Norman K. Risjord argues that the patterns established during the debtor dispute created coalitions that the next great issue, ratification of the Constitution in 1788, solidified. The fight for approval of the new federal system created allegiances to political organizations and meshed local and national interests. Campaigns increased voter awareness and participation. Augusta County, like the rest of the Valley, strongly supported the new Constitution, primarily for the same reasons that Westerners had opposed any moratorium on debts.³⁰

Following the adoption of the Confederation, western Virginians supported the nationalist policies of Alexander Hamilton and, after his death, seized on President Washington's promises to fortify the West and construct the federal Capitol on the Potomac River, a move that promised increased trade for the Valley. Federalists, therefore, received

²⁷ Norman K. Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics, 1781-1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp. 31-34. In 1800, only 24 percent of the population in Augusta County was English. Mitchell, p. 218.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 175, 192. Stuart opposed the issuance of paper money and consistently voted for measures designed to appease Britain and force full payment of the debt. During subsequent fights over paper money in 1816, 1837, 1840, and 1846, Augusta politicians generally favored an expanded currency.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 296-297. Risjord also found that non-English Americans, recent arrivals, and educated Virginians tended to support federalist proposals. Augusta County, with its large Irish Presbyterian population and traditional support for education, fits these criteria.

the credit for peace on the frontier, promoting internal improvements, and increased land values.³¹

Entitled to two representatives in the state Assembly, Augusta elected only sixteen different men to fill the fifty-four seats available from 1799 to 1825. Like the rest of Virginia, Augusta County elections focused on personalities and involved a small class of competing—or rotating—elites. Although they opposed Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812, Augusta's representatives easily slid into Republicanism with the advent of nationalist policies following the war.³²

Despite differences between Federalists and their Republican—often former Anti-Federalist—opponents, politics during the first party period revolved around personalities more than partisanship. The patterns established during the early national period generally determined the political persuasion of each county during the period from 1800 until 1824, although the Era of Good Feelings featured a mostly one-party system. Only one-fourth of Virginia elections during this time period were contested between parties. Regional considerations, more than party labels, divided Virginians. Western Federalists were more similar to western Republicans than to their eastern brethren.³³

As Easterners' promises failed to produce adequate internal improvements, western Virginians increasingly voiced their displeasure at the state Constitution of 1776 which gave the East a disproportionate number of seats in the Virginia General Assembly and restricted the franchise to those white males meeting substantial property qualifications. Westerners met at Staunton in 1816 and 1825 to demand constitutional revisions; a convention convened in 1829 that made minor adjustments, including increasing the Valley's representation. Augusta County voters approved the calling—and ratified the final product—of the Constitutional Convention of 1829-30.³⁴

The Presidential election of 1800 exemplifies the characteristics that shaped Augusta's political orientation during the period between 1796 and 1836. In that election, Augusta County was the only Valley constituency that voted for Federalist John Adams instead of Republican Thomas Jefferson. Anti-French sentiment on the part of influential German merchants in Staunton, concern that Jefferson would reverse pro-British trading policies and thus reduce trade and depress land prices, and approval of the nationalist policies of the Federalists all combined to produce the Adams victory. Throughout the period, Augustans continued to send strong nationalists to the House of Delegates.³⁵

As in most counties in Virginia, the Second Party System produced one-party dominance in Augusta throughout the antebellum period. Unlike most other areas, however,

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

³² Cynthia Miller Leonard, *The General Assembly of Virginia: A Bicentennial Register of Members* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1978); Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 92. Valley Federalists and their New England constituents voiced the loudest opposition to Jefferson's and Madison's anti-British foreign policy.

³³ Daniel P. Jordan, *Political Leadership in Jefferson's Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), p. 69.

³⁴ Augusta retained two delegates in the Assembly, while most eastern counties saw their representation decreased to one delegate. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, pp. 144, 172.

³⁵ Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics*, pp. 542, 561, 674; John Walter Wayland, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia* (Charlottesville, Virginia: Michie Printers, 1907), p. 85.

Democrats did not contest local elections until the late 1840s. Although the county voted for John Quincy Adams in 1828, by 1832 approval of President Jackson's treatment of South Carolina in the Nullification Crisis and sanction of the President's position on strict construction led Augusta County to give him a majority over opponent Henry Clay.³⁶

The subsequent conduct of Andrew Jackson did, however, have an effect on the political orientation of the county. When the Whig coalition gelled in 1836 in opposition to the President's withdrawal of deposits from the National Bank, which they viewed as arbitrary, Augusta voters cast 70 percent of their ballots for William H. Harrison. From that time until the Civil War, Anti-Jacksonians and their successors—the Whigs, the American Party, the Opposition, and Constitutional Unionists—dominated Augusta politics, winning every local and national election except one. Support for nationalistic programs such as Clay's American System, economic policies favoring state banks, and opposition to states-rights advocates like John Calhoun and John Tyler best explain Augusta's political orientation between 1832 and 1848.³⁷

The appearance of a Democratic opposition party in Augusta in 1848—and its continued vibrance until the Civil War—was integrally related to the tensions between eastern and western Virginia. While friction persisted from the beginning of the nineteenth century, debate over the Constitution of 1851 revealed differences between the Whig majority and a substantial number of their constituents.

When the question of a new constitutional convention came before the state legislature in 1846, Augusta County's representatives, John B. Baldwin and Nathaniel Massie, both Whigs, voted to seat delegates based on a formula of representation that would count slaves as three-fifths of a person. This schema favored the East and was heavily opposed by most Westerners. When Augusta citizens next went to the polls for the Assembly election in April 1846, both candidates were rejected for re-election, despite the Whig *Staunton Spectator's* pleas in favor of their candidacy. They were replaced by two other Whigs.³⁸

The next year, a referendum to approve funding for a new road to Scottsville was rejected by a close vote. Although opposition to the Mexican War reasserted Whig dominance, the debates over the Constitution of 1851 provided the Democrats with a new opportunity to increase their partisan strength.³⁹

When the provisions of the new constitution began to be debated, the *Spectator* took an unpopular stance in opposition to elected judges, and suggested that if they must be elected, they should serve for life terms. This position seems to have been roundly rejected by many Augustans. The new constitution, finally granting universal suffrage, near-proportionate representation in the legislature, and the popular election of local officials and

³⁶ Daniel W. Crofts, *Old Southampton: Politics and Society in a Virginia County, 1834-1869* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1992), pp. 120-121; Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 212.

³⁷ Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, p. 435. See Appendix, Table 10 for a review of county elections between 1836 and 1848.

³⁸ *Staunton Spectator*, April 30, 1846. In a four-way race, the incumbents finished third and fourth.

³⁹ *Staunton Spectator*, April 29, 1847.

the governor, granted the West most of the redresses it had been seeking for forty years. Augusta County voters joined the region in overwhelming approval of the document.⁴⁰

The events of the years 1846 to 1851 provided Democrats in Augusta County with tangible results to what one historian has called the "hit-or-miss search for serviceable issues." The increased franchise nearly doubled the Democrats' voting strength and, in a real sense, gave birth to a viable minority party. Although it averaged only 40 percent of the popular vote during the 1850s, the rhetoric and actions of Democrats throughout the period provide an important glimpse into the pervasiveness of Unionism. Reared in the same traditions, and from much the same stock as the Whigs, Democrats in Augusta County retained their heritage of devotion to the Union. For both parties, the events of the 1850s tested and strengthened their conviction that the Federal system was the best guarantor of their liberties.⁴¹

The Compromise of 1850, the Nashville Convention, and the Fugitive Slave Law

For most people in Augusta County in the 1850s, the single greatest source of information about the political and social news of the day were the two local newspapers that vied for their allegiance. If people did not actually read the papers, they received condensed version from those who did. In this way Augustans learned of events throughout the United States and were, like most antebellum readers, remarkably well-informed about politics and literature. Not restricted to providing mere facts, the editors saturated their audience with values, modes of thought, and a sense of community. Recalling Benedict Anderson's thesis that the imagined community depends in large part upon the ability of print capitalism to unite a group of people in, among other ways, the knowledge that they partook in a common ritual, perceived events in a similar way, and felt secure in their community, the Augusta County newspapers provided readers with the basis for a shared outlook, a definable political culture.⁴²

The *Staunton Spectator*, founded in 1823, had become by 1850 the Whig organ of the county. Published from 1848 until 1860 by the Waddell family—Lyttleton, Joseph, and Lyttleton, Jr.—the paper reflected their values as prominent Scotch-Irish townspeople,

⁴⁰ In a section more odious to the West, the new constitution decreed that whites' wages were taxable, while slaves under 12 were exempt from taxes. Worse still, the tax value of all slaves over 12 was set at \$300, well below market rates.

⁴¹ Harry Watson, *Jacksonian Politics and Community Conflict: The Emergence of the Second American Party System in Cumberland County, North Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), p. 172; see Appendix, Table 11. In the presidential election of 1852, the Whig vote increased by 333 votes, or 24.8 percent. The Democratic tally swelled by 668 votes, a 92.7 percent jump. Watson's argument follows in the tradition of historian Michael F. Holt, who attributes the Civil War to the relative paucity of such issues and the resultant weakening national party coherence. See Holt, *Political Crisis of the 1850s*, especially pp. 1-16.

⁴² According to the 1850 Census, only 505 of 18,983, or 2.6 percent, of whites over twenty could not read. For an example of the way print news was dispersed within one family see a letter from Mary A. Smiley to her brother Thomas M. averring that the "papers say" to vote for secession, May 23, 1861, in Smiley Family Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

deeply familiar with and influential in the educational and governmental affairs of Staunton. Consistently siding with commercial interests, the Waddells nevertheless claimed to have "as large a circulation as any paper in Western Virginia," suggesting a wide reading audience throughout the county.⁴³

The *Staunton Vindicator*, on the other hand, was clearly the junior partner in Augusta County journalism. Formed in 1849 as the successor to the county's first Democratic paper, the *Vindicator's* original editor was Frederick J. Alfred, a German. Unlike the Waddells, Alfred enjoyed few ties to the community and even left Augusta to edit a paper in Lewis County between 1851 and 1856. A succession of Germans, some more connected to Augusta, edited the paper until 1860, when the most prominent of Alfred's successors, S. M. Yost, became the sole owner. Yost enjoyed robust connections to the county and, aside from a tenure as an Indian agent in the New Mexico territory in the late 1850s, was a life-long resident of Augusta. While the *Vindicator* did not enjoy as large a circulation as its rival, a private letter put the 1858 subscription at 1100, likely reaching most Democratic voters.⁴⁴

Although debates over the Gag Rule, the Nullification Crisis, abolition pamphlets in the federal mail, the Mexican War, and the Wilmot Proviso ensured inter-sectional squabbling between 1830 and 1850, the Congressional session of 1850, and the famous Compromise of that year, ignited anew a heightened battle between slave and free interests over issues of territorial expansion, the return of fugitive slaves, and the concept of a southern nation. More than any event before secession, the debates over the Compromise of 1850 caused Augusta County to gasp at the dangers of sectional strife and fear for the integrity of the Union.

For both Democrats and Whigs, the debates over the future of the Union caused severe apprehension and prompted spirited defenses of the institutions they had come to identify with American liberty. Both parties' editorials rejected participation in the southern Nashville Convention, were extremely critical and fearful of southern extremism, and applauded the efforts of both Whigs and Democrats in Congress to reach a settlement. The only real difference between Augusta's parties is evident in their perceptions of northern sentiment toward the Fugitive Slave Law. Democratic editor F. J. Alfred made it clear that he expected the North to prove itself willing to uphold laws it disagreed with. The Waddells took northern compliance for granted: Northerners were innocent until proven guilty.

As soon as the passage of the Compromise became certain, both parties urged Union meetings to give thanks for the aversion of sectional strife. In these gatherings were the professions of devotion to what Hobsbawm calls "holy icons." The Constitution, the flag, the Founding Fathers, and America's heritage were praised in rituals that strengthened citizens' collective perceptions of their imagined community. Given these professions, it is hardly surprising that northern adherence to the letter of the Fugitive Slave Law became the foundation upon which Augustans based compromise.

The new decade began with an influx of anti-slavery petitions to Congress. The *Staunton Spectator* praised New Hampshire Senator Nathan Hale and repeated his assurance

⁴³ Throughout the period, the Waddells served on many town committees and Lyttleton, Sr., served as principal of the Staunton Academy both before and after his stint at the *Spectator*. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, pp. 440, 444; *Staunton Spectator*, May 31, 1854.

⁴⁴ Unpublished document on Augusta County newspapers, prepared by Katherine Bushman, courtesy of the author; letter from Thomas J. Michie to John Letcher, May 17, 1858, Virginia Historical Society, no. ms2mS827 al.

that "a small band of fanatics . . . have made so much noise that many people have imagined them to be greatly more numerous than they are." Others in the South were less convinced and, spurred by concerns that Congress would prohibit slavery in the territory acquired from Mexico and outraged when the Vermont Legislature declared slavery immoral, a group of slaveholders meeting in Mississippi followed John C. Calhoun's prodding and called for a Southern Convention to be held in Nashville on June 3, 1850.⁴⁵

"We can hardly imagine that good is to result to the Union, or to the South, from the assembling of such a Convention, because it must be sectional in its character and would tend still farther to inflame the minds of our opponents at the North, if it did not endanger the Union." Democratic editor F. J. Alfred of the *Staunton Vindicator* coupled his rejection of the Southern Convention with a suggestion that the threat of a boycott of northern goods would be a more effective, and less fractious, safeguard against anti-slavery agitation. Two months later, in March, Alfred reversed his stand and supported sending delegates to Nashville, for the "high and holy object" of ensuring the perpetuity of the Union.⁴⁶

Across town, the editors of the *Staunton Spectator* expressed revulsion at what they perceived was a dimly disguised attempt on the part of southern radicals to lead the South "by the nose, from legislative resolves to legislative crusades, then to revolution and civil war, with all its horrors." Historian William Freehling notes the psychological content behind such rhetoric: "proud Virginia was but a pawn in a game that her enemies controlled." The fear that southern extremists would force Virginia to leave the Union plagued Augustan papers throughout the crisis period.⁴⁷

Virginia's General Assembly failed to send delegates to Nashville, although individual counties were given the right to elect representatives. The majority of Augusta's voters opposed sending delegates to Nashville. "Straws" wrote to the *Spectator* with a warning: "let any politician try a practical movement towards disunion . . . and they will find the largest crowd they ever saw" opposing them. "W." cautioned that the Congress, "whose duty is to provide for the harmony of the whole Union," must settle the issues.⁴⁸

In an appeal that revealed some of the components of Augusta's political culture, "Hampden" decried "sectional prejudices and passions" and asked, "What is it worth—this fairest political fabric ever reared by human hands? . . . We have met at our public festivals to rival one another in paying it homage. In all our social and political meetings we have seen it honored with delight, and heard it defamed with horror." "Hampden" listed "a rational appreciation of its benefits": increased population, "political and personal liberty," "unrestricted freedom of speech and of the press," and "a boundless empire." The author concluded with an appeal to the past protections afforded by the union of the states and the assertion that Southerners should "cling to the ship" where their rights would be safe. "Slavery alone has poisoned the cup of our happiness and threatened us with ruin."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, pp. 94-95; William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 480-481; *Staunton Spectator*, January 16, 1850.

⁴⁶ *Staunton Vindicator*, January 28, March 18, 1850.

⁴⁷ *Staunton Spectator*, January 23, 1850. William W. Freehling, "The Editorial Revolution," p. 67. The Waddells had owned the paper since 1848. Joseph Waddell later wrote a history of Augusta County.

⁴⁸ *Staunton Spectator*, March 13, 1850.

⁴⁹ *Staunton Spectator*, March 20, 1850.

Augusta County held a Union meeting on March 25, 1850, in the Court House at Staunton. Whig James Crawford served as Chairman and editor Joseph Waddell was appointed Secretary. A committee of nine, consisting of Democrats and Whigs, drew up the resolutions of the meeting. Among the committeemen were prominent Augusta County Whigs Alexander H. H. Stuart, his brother-in-law John B. Baldwin, and editor Lyttleton Waddell. Baldwin read the majority resolutions to a crowded Court House; they express well the essential tenets of Augusta County nationalism and describe a set of beliefs upon which Unionism was built:

The people of Augusta County believe that the time has arrived when it becomes them publicly and solemnly to declare their affection for that unity of government which constitutes the United States of America one people.

We verily believe it to be the main pillar in the edifice of our independence, the support of our tranquility at home, our peace abroad, of our safety, of our prosperity, of that very liberty which we so highly prize. . . . We feel that, at this crisis . . . we should properly estimate the immense value of our national Union to our collective and individual happiness.⁵⁰

The majority resolved that the Nashville Convention was "avowedly sectional in its organization and purposes" and declined to send representatives to Tennessee. Putting their faith in the protection of "a fair and just administration of our government according to the Constitution," the committee vowed, "we will march under no banner not known to the whole American people, and to their Constitution and laws."⁵¹

The minority report, read by Democrat James Skinner, asserted that the Democrats were "fully alive to the past glories, the present prosperity and future prospects of this great Confederacy." The best way to guarantee the enforcement of fugitive slave laws and settle the territorial question, the report continued, was for "the southern people to take counsel together" at Nashville. The majority report was adopted by a vote of "more than ten to one."⁵²

This assemblage of the citizens of the county is an example of Hobsbawm's "holy icons." Called together to "your March Court," by both newspapers, each individual read the minutes of the meeting in his or her weekly paper at the same time.⁵³ Collectively, amidst the rituals of drafting and reciting resolutions and voting upon them, the people gave "a palpable reality" to the "imagined community." "Hampden's" letter revealed the depths to which ritual and devotion to common historic memories shaped the community's response to the tense months when Congress struggled to reach the Compromise of 1850.

Both the *Vindicator* and *Spectator* blamed sectional extremists for the difficulties in reaching a settlement. When Henry Clay's Omnibus Bill, which linked the admission of a free California with a tougher Fugitive Slave Bill, a resolution of the Texas-New Mexico

boundary dispute, and the incorporation of New Mexico and Utah, failed to pass the House in August, the editors hurled attacks at "the northern abolitionists and the southern abstractionists."⁵⁴

Among the "southern abstractionists" were Virginia's Senators, R. M. T. Hunter and John M. Mason, both Democrats. Finding the enemy at his doorstep, Democratic editor F. J. Alfred veered from the party line and declared, "Virginia has certainly been misrepresented." The Waddells agreed and growled that "Messrs. MASON and HUNTER . . . might as well hail from South Carolina, whose sentiments they appear so studious to represent." They added that in Augusta County, "we have not seen or heard of a single individual who is opposed to the Compromise."⁵⁵

As the long summer dragged on, the Waddells, now joined by Lyttleton's son and namesake, analyzed the issue of sectional jealousies and concluded that northern resentment of the "Southern Aristocracy" had combined with "Southern pride" to create a hostile atmosphere. At the same time, both papers accused the "disunionists" of "shaking hands in ominous conspiracy against the liberties of the country." The *Spectator* urged people of both regions to "rebuken the spirit of sectional strife" and reminded readers of "the ties of a common origin and a common destiny."⁵⁶

The Waddells reserved their harshest rhetoric for southern ultras in Congress, who constantly backed off from "untenable positions, declaring all the time that each retrograde step shall be the last." The editors asked southern extremists to "no longer fritter away time and talent in frivolous debate" and to cease insisting on territory open to slavery, even where "slavery will never exist from the nature of things." Better to spend energy reaching a compromise based upon "a devotion to the Constitution . . . upon which we build our last hope for the preservation of the Union."⁵⁷

During the second week of September the headlines "Glorious News! The Country Safe!" and "The Union Now and Forever" greeted readers with the news that the impasse had ended. The Whig *Spectator* praised the Fillmore Administration and took a parting shot at "such fire-eaters as Seward, Van Duren, Rhett, and Yulee." The Democratic press hailed the efforts of "Cass, Clay, Webster, [and] Cobb," while ridiculing "aspiring politicians" who encouraged sectionalism. Alfred optimistically concluded, "Let us hope, then, that the distracting question is settled, and that calmness and moderation will control the victors and the vanquished."⁵⁸

In the midst of celebration, the editors expressed concern over the "temporary settlement of the late exciting controversy." Democrat F. J. Alfred warned that the Compromise depended upon the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law in the North. "We are apprehensive that the North will not cease intermeddling with our rights, and . . . a doubt arises . . . whether the North, in good faith, will carry out the provisions of that Bill." As for abolitionists, he continued, "until these bad, bold men are silenced, the American people will know no peace." Foreshadowing a position Augusta Democrats would take in 1861, the

⁵⁰ Minutes of the Union Meeting, *Staunton Spectator*, March 28, 1850; *Staunton Vindicator*, April 1, 1850.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Anderson stresses the importance of "simultaneity," people knowing that, for example, on Monday evening everyone in the community was sitting down to read the *Vindicator*.

⁵⁴ *Staunton Vindicator*, August 5, 1850.

⁵⁵ *Staunton Vindicator*, August 5, 1850; *Staunton Spectator*, August 7, 1850.

⁵⁶ *Staunton Spectator*, August 28, 1850. Afraid not only that Virginia would be "led by the nose" by southern extremists, Augusta's editors feared an unholy alliance between regional disunionists. Both concerns recurred throughout the period.

⁵⁷ *Staunton Spectator*, September 4, 1850.

⁵⁸ *Staunton Spectator*, September 11, 1850; *Staunton Vindicator*, September 16, 1850.

editor threatened that if the North ignored the new regulations, "the sooner the South separates from the North the better."⁵⁹

From its office, the editors of the *Spectator* assured readers that the law's "efficacy has already been fully confirmed in numerous instances," despite the fact that "its fulfillment . . . must be painful to those who are strangers to our institutions." Instead, they focused upon the "Disunion Party" of southern extremists. The paper ridiculed those who expected the "sacred majesty of the Union to be dragged into bloody conflict" over issues settled by the Compromise. "No flag of sectional treason will ever float over these mountain battlements, till some cause holier than that of Texas inspires our devotion."⁶⁰

To demonstrate where its devotion did lie in 1850, Augusta County held a grand celebration of the Compromise on November 25. Despite Alfred's grumbling that "it is idle mockery to be singing paeans to the Union when . . . the [Fugitive Slave] law shall not be enforced," an "overflowing Court-house" heard a speech from Democratic Congressman and former Governor James McDowell and listened to the reading of letters from prominent national figures. The *Spectator's* editors waxed effusively: "Augusta! blessed old county!—this glorious Union may meet with enemies in Northern fanatics and Southern hot-spurs—Virginia itself may even swerve from her allegiance; but," the Waddells crooned, "upon the mountains of Augusta, the flag of the Union will continue to float as proudly as would the flag of liberty, in the hands of WASHINGTON himself."⁶¹

Organizers read letters from Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Lewis Cass, Daniel Dickinson, and native son Alexander Stuart. Readers were introduced to, and encouraged to embrace, both northern and southern architects of compromise. Webster reassured Augustans that "the masses of northern people, the general feeling and the great cry, is for the Union and its preservation." The experience reinforced the national scope of Augusta's political culture; the northern statesman appropriately reminded citizens of the past sacrifices and contributions that Virginia had made to "establish the government under which we have now lived so prosperously and so gloriously for 60 years."⁶²

In the resolutions adopted by the meeting and read by Whig leader John B. Baldwin, Augustans asserted their devotion to the "broad platform of THE CONSTITUTION, THE COMPROMISE, AND THE UNION." We are, they concluded, "prepared to meet all good citizens of every section and every party, and, discarding minor differences, to give them a cordial, hearty, and honest support against all opposers." Despite his threats, Frederick J. Alfred joined Joseph A. Waddell as one of the meeting's co-secretaries.⁶³

The people of the county used the celebration of Washington's Birthday on February 22, 1851, to renew their pledge of allegiance to the United States. "Brutus," writing to the *Spectator*, asked that "the friends of Liberty and Union now and forever should thus

testify their sacred regard for the institutions under which we live." His hopes were met by more resolutions and displays of patriotism, as merchants shut their doors from ten o'clock until two, and the people collectively "observed the day as a holiday."⁶⁴

Subsequent events in 1851 revealed the extent to which both the Democrats' and Whigs' fears for the country were justified. In Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, secessionists attempted to lead their states out of the Union, while in northern cities like Boston, the Fugitive Slave Law was vigorously opposed. Enforcement, as in the famous *Simms* case, was costly and rancorous. Alfred expressed his reservations about northern sentiment when he wrote, "When laws have to be enforced at the point of a bayonet, it argues badly for the public sentiment." (To which the Waddells retorted, "The inestimable value of the Union cannot be calculated in dollars and cents.")⁶⁵

Although "the treasonable gang" continued to "plot the destruction of the sacred temple in which our liberties are enshrined," the editors of the *Spectator* joined Staunton in welcoming President Millard Fillmore to Augusta County in August. Accompanied by Secretary of the Interior Alexander H. H. Stuart, Fillmore's coach made its way down crowded streets. In another display of the collective nature of the imagined community, women waved handkerchiefs and young men scaled the rooftops to hear the President and their favorite son praise the Union. In the background, the Churchville band serenaded the scene with "national airs." From the porch of the Virginia Hotel, the Whig President elicited great applause as he pointed to the Stars and Stripes flying above him and promised, "while that flag floats, I will maintain that Constitution and the Union it secures at any and every cost."⁶⁶

The Compromise of 1850 left both parties hopeful that the Union would be preserved. Important among the nationalistic protestations, however, was the Democrats' apparent lack of faith in the northern population's determination to uphold the laws. The deterioration of Augustans' belief in this concept, fundamental to the national scope of their system of government, would prove to be the greatest stumbling block in the battle against sectionalism. For average citizens, concern over northern antipathy did not appear in the patriotic festivities that continued to cement their common devotion to a shared heritage.

⁵⁹ *Staunton Vindicator*, September 23, 1850, September 30, 1850.

⁶⁰ *Staunton Spectator*, October 9, 1850, September 18, 1850.

⁶¹ *Staunton Spectator*, November 27, 1850.

⁶² Letter from Daniel Webster to members of Augusta County Committee on Invitation, William Kinney, Chairman, Washington, D.C., November 23, 1850. Quoted in *Staunton Spectator*, November 27, 1850.

⁶³ *Staunton Spectator*, November 27, 1850. In the same issue, the editors noted the quiet passing of the Nashville Convention, saying wishfully, "John C. Calhoun carried to his grave the potent wand upon which the success of all three disunion efforts depended, and left no successor behind him."

⁶⁴ *Staunton Spectator*, February 5, 1851, February 12, 1851.

⁶⁵ Quoted in *Staunton Spectator*, April 23, 1851. For a summary of the secession movements, see Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, Ch. 6.

⁶⁶ *Staunton Spectator*, May 21, 1851, August 13, 1851.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act

By 1854, the elder Lyttleton Waddell had stepped down, leaving the Waddell cousins, Joseph and Lyttleton, Jr., in charge of the *Staunton Spectator*. Across town, Frederick J. Alfred had moved to Lewis County and sold the *Vindicator* to Absalom Koiner, Samuel M. Yost, and William G. Harman, all prominent county Democrats. As a result of the 1851 Constitution, these gentlemen voiced the opinions of a swelled Democratic opposition. Into their peaceful existence came again the specter of sectional strife, this time in the form of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. "We hope," ventured the *Spectator*, "that the bill will be passed before another slavery agitation shall get under full headway." Yet, suddenly, it was 1850 all over.⁶⁷

The Kansas-Nebraska Act is properly remembered as the finissemment of the ailing Whigs and the beginning of the end for the national Democratic Party. Stephen A. Douglas, hero of the Compromise of 1850, procured legislation that left the people of any state or territory "perfectly free to form or regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Popular sovereignty proved a difficult issue for both parties in Augusta County to handle.⁶⁸

For Virginia Whigs, the demise of their party proved particularly disconcerting. In Augusta County, the partyless *Spectator* defined itself in opposition to the jubilant Democrats. Until they rallied around the Constitutional Union banner in 1860, Augusta ex-Whigs are best understood as anti-Democrats. An extreme example of their desperation was their support for American Party candidates and issues, despite the general hostility to nativism in the predominantly second- and third-generation immigrant county. Although issues such as internal improvements and banking reform remained salient, and nearly all Augusta ex-Whigs continued to support anti-Democrats, they were crippled by the inability of their national constituents to overcome the burr of slavery.⁶⁹

Unlike the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska debates did not lend themselves to anti-sectionalism. Neither Staunton paper devoted much editorial space to the fierce national debates waged in the interim between the bill's introduction in January and its passage in May, suggesting that both editorial teams waited for their national leaders to dictate policy. On no other national issue during the decade did either paper refrain from comment for such a length of time.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ The elder Waddell returned to his educational career in January, 1854, and Alfred sold his paper in October, 1851. Lester J. Cappon, *Virginia Newspapers: A Biography with Historical Introduction and Notes* (Richmond: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936); *Staunton Spectator*, February 15, 1854.

⁶⁸ Quoted in Freehling, *Road to Disunion*, p. 559. See also Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, Ch. 7, and Roy F. Nichols, "The Kansas-Nebraska Act: A Century of Historiography," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIII (1956), pp. 187-212.

⁶⁹ The *Spectator's* support of the American Party came grudgingly. After all, the Americans started a paper that threatened to drain away some of the Waddells' subscribers. Reflecting the ephemeral nature of these divisions, the editor of the *True American* was Richard Mauzy, who later took over at the *Spectator*. For Joseph Waddell's fears about the competition see his diary, August 8, 1856, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

⁷⁰ Despite the lack of editorial commentary, readers could peruse weekly updates, including transcripts of the Congressional debates.

In February, the editors of the *Vindicator*, following the position of national figures such as northerner Lewis Cass that popular sovereignty merely made explicit the 1850 repeal of the Missouri Compromise, aped party leaders' rhetoric and warned that "the Nebraska bill will be the touchstone of principle with all those who endorsed the Compromise of 1850." Having been portrayed by the Whigs as members of a party that opposed sectional compromise, Augusta Democrats pointed proudly to the bill's sponsor, Stephen A. Douglas. Because Douglas was the architect of this new "compromise," the Democrats of Augusta easily equated support for the Little Giant with support for the Constitution, although a stricter reading would deny citizens the right to prohibit slavery in the territories. Once again, Augusta County citizens absorbed the praise of northern statesmen.⁷¹

The Whigs found themselves in a more difficult position, perhaps accounting for the *Spectator's* continued silence during the debates. The Waddells based much of their political philosophy upon the same constitutional guarantees that the Democratic advocates of popular sovereignty now trumpeted. The Kansas-Nebraska Act was a clear victory for the South, despite the fact that Whigs nationally were opposed to it. If the Waddells did not support the Douglas Compromise they would be betraying the South. If they applauded it, they would be abandoning the Whig fold. The *Spectator* thus found itself in an embarrassing dilemma.⁷²

A week after President Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska Act the Waddells broke their silence on the latest sectional debate. The editors attacked the ambiguity surrounding the question of when voters could decide the slavery issue, and criticized the deletion of a nativist amendment. Straddling the fence, the Waddells concluded, "But the measure has now passed, and we hope the country will become quiet. The North certainly have no reason to complain—they have the kernel, and we the empty shell." They remained opposed to popular sovereignty, but approved the passage of the Act.⁷³

Perhaps because of their discomfort with popular sovereignty, the editors of the *Vindicator* waited until unrest in Kansas and northern sentiment in opposition to the Act rallied them to a defense of Stephen Douglas; they finally blurted that, "the great majority [of Northerners] are corrupt they have no love of the Union as it is—for equal rights and equal justice for all." Far more explicitly than during the crisis over the Fugitive Slave Law, the Democrats of Augusta County began to lose faith in the moderation of the northern people. This marked a critical turning point for the *Vindicator*, which once again exposed readers to doubts about northern intentions.⁷⁴

The demise of national Whiggery that followed the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act placed Augusta Whigs in the position of opposing Democrats who could claim to be the sole remaining non-sectional party left. On the defensive, the *Spectator* averred that constant bickering about states rights by the southern Democracy served only to fan the flame of

⁷¹ This was the argument used by Virginia's "Old Republicans" in opposition to the Missouri Compromise of 1820. They based their position on guarantees of property in the Constitution. See Article IV, Section 2.1 and the Fifth Amendment. See also *Staunton Vindicator*, August 7, 1854. For a discussion of the importance of compromise in Unionist thought, see Knupfer, *The Union as it Is*.

⁷² In the House, northern Whigs voted 50-0 against the Bill, southern Whigs approved its passage 13-9. The 13 who broke with their party made the difference in a 113-100 total count.

⁷³ *Staunton Spectator*, May 31, 1854.

⁷⁴ *Staunton Vindicator*, October 30, 1854.

abolitionism in the North. The *Vindicator*, relishing its claim as the representative of the Unionist party, smirked, "It will be a long time before the logic of the *Spectator* can convince anyone, save its editors, that their avowals . . . are true." Clearly, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, with its reliance upon a constitutionally dubious principle, placed the Democrats, who expressed less confidence in the ability of legal principles to restrain zealous Northerners, in a position to tweak their rivals.⁷⁵

"Bleeding Kansas" quickly became the raw spot on the sectional wound. Augusta Democrats repeatedly sided with southern interests and even gloated, "Kansas bids fair to be ours," although by the end of 1855, a year and a half later, the editors made it clear that no citizens of Augusta County would leave for Kansas "to have their houses burnt and their property stolen . . . by the lawless set of scamps who infest that territory."⁷⁶

The *Spectator* continued to downplay sectional tensions and painted an unduly harmonious picture of life in Kansas. The Waddells attributed reports of bloodshed more to "the heated brains of designing scribblers than anywhere else." Insisting on the resilience of inter-sectional harmony, they concluded: "Many suppose it would be as difficult to get a Yankee and a Southerner to shelter together in the same tent in Kansas as it would be to have a lion and a lamb bunk together in the same lair. It is all a mistake."⁷⁷

Seeking to reassure its readers of the reliability of northern voters, the *Spectator* said it was natural for Northerners "taught from their infancy to regard [slavery] with horror," to be anti-slavery, and contended, "it is equally true that all of them are not disposed to be aggressive." The defunct Whigs, now supporting the American Party, sought to equate support of their party with a vote for "a UNION party that will save the Republic."⁷⁸

Augusta Whigs portrayed the gubernatorial election in May 1855, as a contest between sectionalism and national interests. In a prodigious three-hour speech on May 5 in a courthouse "crowded on the occasion," Staunton's Alexander H. H. Stuart asserted, "upon the result of the election in Virginia depended the fate of the Union." He further warned that "sectional organization will be the results of defeat here."⁷⁹

Turnout for this "referendum on the Union" reached 75 percent, the highest figure of the 1850s. Following the established pattern, the higher turnout produced an overwhelming victory for American candidate Thomas Flournoy, who received nearly 65 percent of the vote. The increased turnout was likely related to the *Spectator's* appeals for the Union.⁸⁰

Events in Kansas continued to plague Augusta's anti-sectionalists, although county Democrats did little to sooth residents. When improprieties involving the anti-slavery governor of Kansas surfaced in May 1855, the *Vindicator* wasted no time in urging that President Pierce remove "this detestable abolition agent." "Kansas," the Democratic editors declared darkly, "must be a slave state, the interests of slaveholding communities demand it."

⁷⁵ The Waddells exclaimed, "If George Washington were to arise from the dead, and announce himself a candidate in opposition to Henry A. Wise, some demagogue would discover anti-slavery sentiment in his Farewell Address." *Staunton Spectator*, February 14, 1855; *Staunton Vindicator*, February 17, 1855.

⁷⁶ *Staunton Vindicator*, July 31, 1854, December 15, 1855.

⁷⁷ *Staunton Spectator*, October 11, 1854.

⁷⁸ *Staunton Spectator*, March 7, 1855.

⁷⁹ *Staunton Spectator*, May 9, 1855.

⁸⁰ Appendix, Table 11. Turnout was 9.5% higher, while the Whig vote was 5.4% higher than the average for the period 1851-1860.

After the dismissal of Governor Reeder, Yost—who did most of the writing for the paper—Harman, and Koiner stepped back, praising the "calm and dignified tone" that pervaded the nation. "Even in lunatic Boston, there are those who have the boldness to rebuke raging fanatics, and point out to them the impending dangers of the Union."⁸¹

In August, an exchange took place between the editors of the Staunton newspapers that revealed the varying degrees of faith that each now placed in the northern people. Each party's confidence was in direct correlation to their views about Bleeding Kansas. Northern reaction to the Kansas-Nebraska Act served only to further alienate the Augusta Democrats, while making it increasingly difficult for the Whig/Americans to stress the ancient standards of legal restraint.

Disgusted with factional northern rhetoric, the *Vindicator* concluded that Northerners were "no longer willing to abide the landmarks and institutions established by the Fathers of the country." Veering toward the heart of their concerns, the editors cried, "the Federal Government is unable to enforce its own laws in the abolition states." Demonstrating the importance such a lapse implied, the *Vindicator* suggested a policy of economic non-intercourse with the northern states. This, the editors felt, was a "peaceable expedient" which would appeal to the "conservative better class of the people at the North."⁸²

The Waddells viewed this suggestion with apprehension; restating a fundamental tenet of Augusta nationalism, they ventured, "when any formal system of retaliation has to be resorted to, we may as well prepare for a speedy dissolution of the Union." Less willing to yield on a matter of crucial importance to their understanding of their political heritage, they pleaded, "notwithstanding the wrongs which we occasionally suffer at the hands of the northern people, we would not aggravate the evil and widen the breach, but wait a little while longer, hoping for better times."⁸³

John Brown's Raid

Although Bleeding Kansas did not provide the necessary event to cause Augusta Democrats to lose faith in the ability of northern people to restrain radical abolitionists and their representatives in Congress, the bloodshed there spawned the man who would. The relative sectional harmony of 1856-1859 burst on a cold October morning in Harper's Ferry, Virginia, as "Osawatimie Brown" led a raid that shook the South and widened the sectional breach. "It came upon us," wrote Henry Michie, now co-editor of the *Vindicator*, "as a thunderbolt in the midst of calm and sunshine." When word of the fighting arrived from Charlestown, John D. Imboden, a prominent Whig and former state legislator, led a company of Augusta County volunteers to aid in suppressing the invaders.⁸⁴

Like many in Virginia and throughout the South, county Democrats reacted swiftly and angrily to Brown's attack. Harper's Ferry, the *Vindicator* cried, "is but the beginning of the storm [which will] soon shadow the whole South." While Augusta's Whigs responded with much less alarm than the Democrats, sympathetic northern reaction to the incursion

⁸¹ *Staunton Vindicator*, June 9, 1855, August 25, 1855.

⁸² *Staunton Vindicator*, August 11, 1855.

⁸³ *Staunton Spectator*, August 22, 1855.

⁸⁴ *Staunton Vindicator*, November 18, 1859.

caused both papers to express severe reservations about the attitudes of average Northerners to the sanctity of laws protecting southern rights.⁸⁵

The first news of John Brown's raid on the arsenal at Harper's Ferry on October 16, 1859, was greeted with skepticism by the editors of the *Spectator*, who now included Richard Mauzy, a veteran of county journalism.⁸⁶ The "Rumored Insurrection" was more likely "a rebellion among the *white operatives* at the Armory [which] has been mistaken for a slave insurrection." The next week's edition contained a complete recounting of the events along with a refutation of the idea that it was a "servile insurrection. All the facts show that it was nothing of the kind." While conceding that evidence pointed to the complicity of a number of prominent northern anti-slavery men, the Waddells hastened to add, "At the same time, however, we should not be guilty of the injustice of criminating the whole North.... No doubt an immense majority of the people regard it with the utmost abhorrence."⁸⁷

Neither of Augusta County's newspapers, and thus their reading audience, was prepared for the northern reaction to the trial and subsequent execution of John Brown. Had Brown died in the raid the incident would have likely passed quietly, for as historian David Potter notes, "the general public did not sympathize with promoters of slave insurrections, and it might quickly have dismissed Brown as a mere desperado. But he was not killed, and he surpassed himself as few men have ever done, in the six weeks that followed."⁸⁸

The North reacted with sympathy for the stoic Brown, who became—and remains—a symbolic martyr against slavery. The Staunton papers viewed the pealing church bells, black bunting, memorial services, and legislative resolutions of the northern states with unbridled horror. "The time was," the *Vindicator* accurately recalled on the day that Virginia hanged Brown, "when such outrages would have been denounced with the same vehemence in the North as in our own State. But those days of conservatism have been lost."⁸⁹

In Massachusetts, the Legislature came within votes of recessing in honor of Brown, and, in a passage full of revealing anti-northern rhetoric, the *Vindicator* roared, "from the pulpits, wicked miscreants proclaim treason and avow before DELIGHTED congregations that John Brown, the robber, the villain, the murderer, is a saint, a martyr, yea more, a second Savior." Sending a message that was both reassuring and disconcerting to readers, the editorial concluded, "we have not entirely despaired of the Republic, but there is everything in the sign of the times to shake our confidence as to the perpetuity of the Union." "Wicked," given to "treason," and martyring a "murderer," Northerners began to take on a villainous, plotting mein. To Augustans unaccustomed to such an image, the unity, indeed the national scope of their imagined community, became less concrete. If Northerners did not value the laws in the way Augustans did, what place did they have in the forging of a future shared heritage?⁹⁰

The *Spectator* professed to have "more dangerous apprehensions of danger to the Union than have ever been felt in any previous crisis in the history of our country." With

anguish, the editors declared that they retained faith in the majority of Northerners, but "a state of public sentiment has been developed at the North which the conservative men of the South had not imagined to exist, and for the first time they have been forced to doubt whether it is possible for the two sections of the Union to dwell together in unity."⁹¹

"We want," continued the ex-Whig editors, "no fire-eating resolutions in our legislatures—no abusive harangues from our representatives in Congress—no inflammatory appeals and bitter philippics in our southern journals. All these things do more harm than good." The Waddells called for an increased awareness of Virginia's rights in the Union, urged the state to "protect her citizens from invasion," and, revealing the unspoken depth of their disillusionment, briefly suggested a policy of commercial non-intercourse with the northern states.⁹²

In late November, two meetings were held in Augusta County to discuss the raid. On Saturday night, November 29, a town meeting in Staunton chaired by Mayor Nicholas K. Trout blamed the "fanatical teachings of Wm. H. Seward and his party" for Brown's raid and raised \$400 to equip the area's military companies "such as will insure their preparation and readiness for every emergency." The previous day, a committee including veteran Unionist and former Whig Assemblyman John Brown Baldwin had drawn up resolutions declaring that "while we deprecate all acts calculated to add to the public sentiment and to weaken the bonds of the Union . . . it is the imperative duty of the people to arm and prepare for public defence." This meeting also resolved to raise funds for Augusta's volunteer companies. Organizations sprang up throughout the county.⁹³

John Brown's attack on Virginia did more than arouse the residents of Augusta County to form defensive companies. Prior to the raid, both Staunton newspapers had expressed their belief in the moderation of the northern people. The manifestations of adverse northern sentiment caused the *Vindicator* to lose faith in the ability of Northerners to check the spirit of sectionalism. Exasperated at the *Spectator's* continued optimism, Henry Michie finally exclaimed, "We are sick and tired of the eternal assertion that the masses of the North are sound, but misled by demagogues. It is our deliberate opinion that the masses are rotten to the core."⁹⁴

Augusta's Democrats began to doubt the national character of the Union. Their censure of northern leaders, begun during the debates over the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, had gradually progressed to a dismissal of average Northerners' devotion to constitutional safeguards. As historian David Potter notes, "It was hard for a Southern Unionist to answer the statement of the Richmond Enquirer that 'the northern people have aided and abetted this treasonable invasion of a Southern state.'" If the people, upon whom the Union was based, began to divide along sectional lines, what would remain of a national federation? As the rhetoric of their December meeting makes clear, Augusta County's citizens greeted the new decade uncertain over the future of the Union, but determined to fight for its preservation.⁹⁵

⁸⁵ *Staunton Vindicator*, November 4, 1859.

⁸⁶ Mauzy became a partner in 1857, following the demise of his American Party paper, the *Staunton True American*, in 1857. Joseph A. Waddell Diary, August 8, 1856, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

⁸⁷ *Staunton Spectator*, October 18, 1859, October 25, 1859.

⁸⁸ Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, p. 375.

⁸⁹ *Staunton Vindicator*, December 2, 1859.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Staunton Spectator*, December 20, 1859.

⁹² *Staunton Spectator*, December 20, December 27, 1859.

⁹³ *Staunton Vindicator*, December 2, 1859. On December 15, a meeting at Mt. Solon asserted "the South should manifest its displeasure" and called for all men between 17 and 50 to join up.

⁹⁴ *Staunton Vindicator*, December 16, 1859.

⁹⁵ Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, p. 383.

Appendix

Table 1

Ratio Free People to Slaves

	1850	1860	Percent Increase
Augusta County			
Ratio white: slave	3.76:1	3.84:1	--
Ratio free: slave	3.87:1	3.94:1	--
State of Virginia			
Ratio VA white: slave	1.89:1	2.13:1	--
Ratio VA free: slave	2.01:1	2.25:1	--

Ratio Natives to Foreign Born

Augusta County			
Free Native born	19,557	21,531	10.1
Free Foreign born	529	602	13.8
Ratio	37.0:1	35.8:1	--
State of Virginia			
VA Native born	949,133	1,070,395	12.8
VA Foreign born	22,953	35,058	52.7
Ratio VA	41.4:1	30.5:1	--

From: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Population Schedule*; U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Population Schedule*.

Table 2

Size of Slaveholdings, 1860		
Number of Slaves	Augusta County	Virginia
1-4	413 (50.9%)	25,355 (48.6%)
5-9	237 (29.2)	12,222 (23.4)
10-14	96 (11.8)	5,686 (10.9)
15-19	41 (5.1)	3,088 (5.9)
20-29	19 (2.3)	3,017 (5.8)
30-39	2 (0.2)	1,291 (2.5)
40-49	3 (0.4)	609 (1.1)
over 50	0 (--)	860 (1.6)
TOTAL	811	52,152
Percent Owning 1-10	80.1	72

From: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Population and Slave Schedules.*

Table 3

	Augusta County	Virginia
Slaveholders	811	52,128
Slaves	5,616	490,865
Ratio	1:6.9	1:9.4
Nonslaveholders	21,322	1,053,213
Slaveholders	811	52,128
Ratio	26.3:1	20.2:1
Percent Owning 1-10 Slaveholders	3.7	4.7

From: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Population and Slave Schedules.*

Table 6

Augusta County Farming Statistics

	1850	1860	Percent increase
Augusta County			
Value of farms	n/a	10,997,286	n/a
of farming equipment	n/a	296,390	n/a
TOTAL	7,263,407	11,293,676	55.5
State of Virginia			
TOTAL	223,423,315	381,153,957	70.1

Farm Size (acres) - 1860

	Augusta County	Virginia
3-9	30 (1.9%)	2351 (2.7)
10-19	55 (3.5)	5565 (6.4)
20-49	192 (12.4)	19,584 (22.6)
50-99	357 (23)	21,145 (24.5)
100-499	873 (56)	34,300 (40.0)
500-999	40 (2.6)	2,882 (3.3)
1000+	5 (0.3)	641 (0.7)
TOTAL	1552	86,468

Ratio of Farms to Free Population

	Total	Ratio
Augusta County (1860)	1552:22,133	1:14.3
August County (1850)	1264:19,557	1:15.5
Virginia (1860)	86,468:1,105,341	1:12.8
Virginia (1850)	77,013:949,133	1:12.3

Ratio of Farms to Dwellings

Augusta County (1850)	1,264:3,207	1:2.5
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From: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Agriculture and Population Schedules*; U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Agriculture and Population Schedules.*

Table 7

Augusta County Agricultural Output				
Type	1850	1860	Percent increase	
			Augusta County	State of Virginia
Corn (Bushels)	505,800	752,530	48.8	8.7
Wheat (Bushels)	419,006	307,402	-26.6	17.1
Rye and Oats (Bushels)	278,130	248,858	-10.5	46
Butter and Cheese (Pounds)	287,577	466,408	62.1	27
Hay (Tons)	15,285	21,687	41.9	20.6
Tobacco (Pounds)	-0-	40,727	--	--
Cotton (Bales)	-0-	-0-	--	--

From: U.S. Bureau of Census. *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Agriculture Schedule*; U.S. Bureau of Census. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Agriculture Schedule*.

Table 8

Augusta County Manufacturing Statistics (1860)			
Type	Number	Percent increase	
		Augusta County	State of Virginia
Flour and Meal	62	31.5	25.5
Sawed Lumber	22	11.2	14.5
Distilled Liquors	18	9.1	1.4
Blacksmithing	17	8.6	8.7
Leather	12	6.1	5.7
All Others	66	33.5	44.0

Table 9

Capital Invested in Augusta County			
Type	County Total	Per Capita	
		Augusta County	State of Virginia
Capital Invested	\$639,010	\$23.03	\$16.56
Value of Products	\$915,713	\$33.00	\$31.73
Number of Employees	502	.018	.023
Establishments	197	.007	.003

From: U.S. Bureau of Census. *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Population Schedule*; U.S. Bureau of Census. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Population Schedule*.

Table 10

Elections 1836-1848			
Date and Type of Election	Candidates W=Whig or anti-Jacksonian D=Democrat	Percent Whig	Turnout
November 1836 (President)	Van Buren (D) v. Harrison (W)	71.8	1143
May 1837 (Assembly)	All Anti-Jacksonians		
May 1837 (Congress)	Johnston (W) v. Craig (D)	58.1	823
May 1838 (Assembly)	All Whigs		
May 1839 (Assembly)	All Whigs		
May 1839 (Congress)	Moore (W) v. Craig (D)	69.8	969
November 1840 (President)	Van Buren (D) v. Harrison (W)	72.3	1667
May 1841 (Assembly)	All Whigs		
May 1841 (Congress)	Stuart (W) v. McDowell (D)	76.3	1113
May 1843 (Assembly)	All Whigs		
May 1843 (Congress)	Stuart (W) v. Taylor (D)	75.6	1267
November 1844 (President)	Clay (W) v. Polk (D)	67.8	2063
May 1844 (Assembly)	All Whigs		1041
May 1845 (Assembly)	All Whigs		
May 1845 (Congress)	Taylor (D) unopposed		
May 1846 (Assembly)	All Whigs		1258
May 1847 (Assembly)	All Whigs		
May 1847 (Congress)	Gray (W) v. McDowell (D)	68.7	1044
May 1847 (Levy tax for road)	yea (W) v. no (D)	48.6	760
November 1848 (President)	Taylor (W) v. Cass (D)	65.1	2061

From: Voting returns as listed in the *Staunton Spectator* for the elections listed above;
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Index to Death Notices in Staunton Spectator 1876

Anne C. Kidd

All of the deaths recorded under the heading "Deaths" and all other death notices having a connection with Augusta County have been indexed. Directly under "Deaths" was the editor's policy: "Obituaries are charged for at advertising rates. Notices of deaths are published gratuitously." Most death announcements in these four-page weekly newspapers were found on pages 2 and 3. All towns without state or county designation are located in Augusta County.

Name of Deceased Person	Date of Death	Place of Death	Date of Paper
Alderson, T.C.M., col.	22 Mar 1876	Russell County	4 Apr 1876
Alexander, Barbara A.	11 Apr 1876	Rockbridge County	25 Apr 1876
Anthony, James T.	30 May 1876	Rockingham County	30 May 1876
Arehart, Margaret J., Mrs.		Rockingham County	21 Nov 1876
Armstrong, Barbara, Mrs.	7 May 1876	Middlebrook	30 May 1876
Armstrong, infant	26 Apr	Highland County	9 May 1876
Armstrong, Jno. T.	27 Sep 1876	Rockbridge County	10 Oct 1876
Armstrong, mother	7 May 1876	Augusta County	18 Jul 1876
Arnold, D.W., Rev.		Baltimore County, MD	1 Feb 1876
Auldridge, Elizabeth, Mrs.	5 Jul 1876	Pocahontas County, WV	18 Jul 1876
Axson, Laura, Mrs.	20 Nov 1876	Harrisbonburg, Rockingham Co.	28 Nov 1876
Ball, Fannie E., Mrs.	19 Oct 1876	Highland County	31 Oct 1876
Barry, Andrew	1842		11 Jan 1876
Barry, Anna Isabella Allen	27 Nov 1876	New Hope	11 Jan 1876
Barry, Mathews, female	1803	Staunton	11 Jan 1876
Barry, Smith, female		Staunton	11 Jan 1876
Barry, George Mathews	1820		11 Jan 1876
Barry, John		nr Williamstown, KY	25 Jan 1876
Barry, Thomas		Staunton	11 Jan 1876
Baylor, David C.	7 Apr 1876	Summerdean	25 Apr 1876
Baylor, Isabella, Mrs.	27 Dec. 1875	Staunton	4 Jan 1876
Bear, Mamie Kerr	8 Dec 1876	Staunton	12 Dec 1876
Beck, Jacob, Capt.	21 Oct 1876	nr. Deerfield	31 Oct 1876
Bell, Isabella Rachel	28 Dec 1875	nr Churchville	11 Jan 1876
Bell, Lizzie	14 Apr 1876	Lewisburg, WV	25 Apr 1876
Berkeley, Lavinia H.	1 Sep 1876	nr Blacksburg	12 Sep 1876
Bittle, D.F., Dr.	25 Sep 1876	Roanoke County	3 Oct 1876
Blackwood, Ann	25 Jun 1876	nr Greenville	27 Jun 1876
Blain, Daniel, Rev.	11 Mar 1814		8 Aug 1876
Blair, Matthew	2 Feb 1876	Richmond	15 Feb 1876
Bledsoe, Mary J.	12 Jun 1876	Staunton	13 Jun 1876
Bolar, Esther, Mrs.	23 Dec 1875	Bath County	11 Jan 1876
Bowers, Jacob	22 Jul 1876	nr Greenville	25 Jul 1876

Bowers, Jacob T.		Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	7 Nov 1876
Bowman, Jacob	11 May 1876	Rockingham County	23 May 1876
Bowman, Virginia	7 Aug 1870	Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	15 Aug 1876
Braithwaite, Wm. Sewell	22 Nov 1876	Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	28 Nov 1876
Branner, Rebecca			
(Chrisman), Mrs.	14 May 1876	Rockingham County	23 May 1876
Brawford, Baxter	18 Jun 1876	nr Middlebrook	27 June 1876
Bremond, Lizzie	28 Jan 1876	Staunton	1 Feb 1876
Brooks, James M.	1 Oct 1876	Augusta County	29 Aug 1876
Brown, Alexander, Mrs.	30 Jul 1876	Nelson County	22 Aug 1876
Brown, Daisy	11 Jan 1876	Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	18 Jan 1876
Brown, John D.	Tuesday	Staunton	4 Jan 1876
Bruebeck, Elizabeth, Mrs.	25 Mar 1876	nr Middlebrook	4 Apr 1876
Buchanan, male	Saturday	nr Bethlehem Church	13 Jun 1876
Burgess, Bertie	31 Oct 1875	Clark County, MO	18 Jan 1876
Burk, S.A., Mrs.	4 Apr 1876	Big Calfpasture River	4 Apr 1876
Burke, Beatty T., Hon.	30 Jul 1876	Carlinville, IL	22 Aug 1876
Burke, Robert W.	30 Apr 1876	Staunton	2 May 1876
Burner, Elizabeth, Mrs.	10 Aug 1876	Rockingham County	22 Aug 1876
Burner, Jos.	25 Jun 1876	Shenandoah County	4 Jul 1876
Busick, Edgar E.		Albemarle County	30 May 1876
Butler, Henry	12 Mar 1876	Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	21 Mar 1876
Butler, Rosa Ettie	26 Aug 1876	nr Staunton	29 Aug 1876
Buzzard, female	17 Mar 1876		4 Apr 1876
Buchanan, male	Saturday	nr Bethlehem Church	13 Jun 1876
Camden, Sallie, Mrs.	25 Sep 1876	Harrison County, WV	17 Oct 1876
Campbell, Chas.	Tuesday	Staunton	18 Jul 1876
Campbell, Thomas	23 Jan 1876	Highland County	8 Feb 1876
Caperton, Allen T., Senator	Wednesday	Washington, DC	1 Aug 1876
Carlisle, Catherine A., Mrs.	26 Oct 1876	Augusta County	26 Dec 1876
Carson, Rebecca, Mrs.	14 Aug 1876	Moscow	29 Aug 1876
Cawthorn, Josiah, Jr.	2 May 1876	Mt. Sidney	9 May 1876
Chapman, Alfred	2 Jul 1876	Alexandria	4 Jul 1876
Chapman, J.	Monday	Shenandoah County	14 Mar 1876
Churchman, Franklin V.M.	2 May 1876	Richmond	12 Jun 1876
Clark, Mrs.	14 Mar 1876	Forest Station	28 Mar 1876
Clarke, Samuel	Saturday	Staunton	11 Jul 1876
Click, Sallie, Mrs.	6 Dec 1876	Montgomery County	26 Dec 1876
Clopton, William H.	14 Mar 1876	Charles City, County	4 Apr 1876
Glymer, Nancy, Mrs.	23 Jun 1876	Jefferson Co., WV	18 Jul 1876
Cochran, John	1 Sep 1876	nr Middlebrook	5 Sep 1876
Coffman, Christiana	26 Jan 1876	Greenbrier, Co., WV	8 Feb 1876
Collins, Mary Ann	4 Feb 1876	Staunton	8 Feb 1876
Copper, Jas. T.	20 Jun 1876	nr Cedar Grove	27 Jun 1876
Cowan, Samuel	13 Apr 1876	Rockbridge County	25 Apr 1876
Crawford, George W.	15 Jul 1876	nr Brownsburg, Rockbridge Co.	1 Aug 1876
Crist, Abraham	4 Mar 1876	nr Greenville	14 Mar 1876
Crist, David	4 Jul 1876	Rockbridge County	25 Jul 1876
Crist, Samuel	13 Apr 1876	nr Greenville	25 Apr 1876

Croghan, Daniel	17 Jun 1876	Staunton	20 Jun 1876
Croghan, Helena	20 Feb 1876	Staunton	22 Feb 1876
Cross, Thos.	31 Mar 1876	nr Deerfield	4 Apr 1876
Croushorn, John	16 Oct 1876	Rockingham County	7 Nov 1876
Dickinson, Ann M., Mrs.	14 May 1876	Bath County	30 May 1876
Dickson, Samuel	12 Apr 1876	Alleghany County	25 Apr 1876
Dinkle, Elijah	18 Mar 1876		28 Mar 1876
Dinkle, Henry	25 Mar 1876	Laurel Hill	4 Apr 1876
Dinkle, James Ewing	28 Aug 1876	nr Mt. Solon	5 Sep 1876
Dixon, Margaret	15 Sep 1876	Rockbridge County	3 Oct 1876
Doll, Philip	16 Mar 1876	Shenandoah County	28 Mar 1876
Donaho, Lucien M.	27 Apr 1876	nr South River	9 May 1876
Donaho, Sphronia, Mrs.	24 Mar 1876	nr South River	9 May 1876
Drake, Francis Somerfield	12 Jul 1876	Fishersville	18 Jul 1876
Dwyer, Arthur	19 Jan 1887	Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	25 Jan 1876
Earman, Samuel		Rockingham County	6 Jun 1876
Edwards, Matilda C.		Amherst County	18 Apr 1876
Effinger, Harriet G., Mrs.	20 Feb 1876	Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	20 Feb 1876
Elig, Jacob	Wednesday	Staunton	19 Dec 1876
Erksine, Margaret, Mrs.	22 Dec 1876	Baltimore, MD	18 Jan 1876
Erwin, David M.	10 Feb 1876	Greenbrier Co., WV	29 Feb 1876
Estill, Floyd	25 Sep 1876	Greenbrier Co., WV	3 Oct 1876
Fauvar, Samuel	10 Jul 1876	nr Parnassus	18 Jul 1876
Ferrial, Mr.	Saturday	Scott County	14 Mar 1876
Figgatt, Homer Woodward	14 Jul 1876	nr Craigsville	25 Jul 1876
Fishburne, Daniel	5 Jun 1876	Augusta County	29 Aug 1876
Fitch, Samuel B.	10 Apr 1876	Madison County, IL	25 Apr 1876
Floyd, Walter	24 May 1876	Staunton	30 May 1876
Fontaine, M.L., Mrs.	30 May 1876	Richmond	6 Jun 1876
Fountain, N., Capt	Wednesday	Staunton	11 Jan 1876
Fox, Oscar J.	Thursday	Staunton	26 Sep 1876
Frederick, Miss	22 Feb 1876	Hampshire Co., WV	22 Feb 1876
Freeman, Annie	21 Mar 1876	Washington City	4 Apr 1876
Freeman, Clara J., Mrs.	24 Feb 1876	Accomac County	1 Mar 1876
Fuller, Mary Augusta	9 May 1876	Staunton	16 May 1876
Garber, Isaac M.	24 Jul 1876	Rockingham County	11 Jul 1876
Garber, Wm. H.		Aberdeen, MS	4 Jan 1876
Gatewood, male	Sunday	Amherst County	14 Mar 1876
Gessinger, Jeff D.	Thursday	Midway	18 Apr 1876
Gillespie, B.W., Mr.	29 Sep 1876	Staunton	3 Oct 1876
Ginger, Samuel	31 Dec 1875	Rockbridge County	18 Jan 1876
Glasgow, Catherine, Mrs.		Rockbridge County	27 Jun 1876
Glasgow, Joseph R.	22 Aug 1876	Cold Sulphur Springs	20 Aug 1876
Glenn, John M., Judge	25 Aug 1876	Paris, MO	5 Sep 1876
Goldsborough, Wm. T., Hon.	23 Jan 1876	Baltimore, MD	1 Feb 1876
Gordon, Jennie F.	Sunday	Staunton	25 Apr 1876

Gosnoy, James	Sunday	St. Charles, MO	1 Mar 1876
Graham, E.L., Dr.	24 May 1876	Lexington, Rockbridge Co.	4 Apr 1876
Grayson, Johnnie F.	11 Mar 1876	Page County	28 Mar 1876
Green, Mary Nailor	23 Sep 1876	Charlestown, WV	3 Oct 1876
Gregory, Jno. N	Sunday	Staunton	178 Apr 1876
Gregory, Walter Plant	15 Oct 1876	nr New Hope	31 Oct 1876
Grooms, Mary, colored	24 Feb 1876		21 Mar 1876
Grove, Margaret, Mrs		Woodford Co., IL	26 Dec 1876
Guy, Henry W.	Mar 1876	Rockbridge County	28 Mar 1876
Guy, James S.	5 Aug 1876	Bath County	22 Aug 1876
Haines, Clinton Reeder	23 Dec 1876	Charlestown, WV	4 Jan 1876
Hamilton, Nancy, Mrs.	24 Feb 1876	Rockbridge County	28 Mar 1876
Hammon, Reuben, E.	Monday	Shenandoah County	14 Mar 1876
Hanger, Jacob	20 May 1876	nr Churchville	6 May 1876
Hannon, Rose, Mrs.	6 Mar 1876	Staunton	14 Mar 1876
Hardy, John	20 Apr 1876	Rockbridge County	23 May 1876
Harris, Fannie, negro	Saturday	nr Deerfield	20 Jun 1876
Harris, J.H., Mr.	a week since	Kanawha Co., WV	21 Nov 1876
Harris, Jos., Mrs.	6 Jul 1876	nr Covington	18 Jul 1876
Harman, Etta	17 Jan 1876		25 Jan 1876
Harmon, Aaron	Friday		4 Jan 1876
Harmon, Charles P.	a few weeks since	Washington, DC	4 Jan 1876
Harmon, Rebecca	a few days after	Washington, DC	4 Jan 1876
Harrison, Fannie	16 Sep 1876	Rockbridge County	3 Oct 1876
Harrison, Susan E., Mrs.		Loudoun County	4 Apr 1876
Harwood, John P., Jr.	Wednesday	nr Fishersville	20 Feb 1876
Haughawout, Elizabeth L., Mrs.	7 Oct 1876	Lexington, Rockbridge Co.	24 Oct 1876
Hawkins, J.M.	25 Mar 1876	Carrollton, MO	4 Apr 1876
Henaberger, Harry Bailly	28 Feb 1876	Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	1 Mar 1876
Hight, Marion	Tuesday	Staunton	24 Oct 1876
Hiltzheimer, Mary Ann, Mrs.	26 Mar 1876	nr Richmond	4 Apr 1876
Hiner, John	1 Jan 1876	Highland County	11 Jan 1876
Hirsch, Joseph L.	16 Nov 1876		28 Nov 1876
Hoge, Peter C., Rev	17 Jul 1876	Albemarle County	25 Jul 1876
Hogsett, Isabella, Mrs.	15 Jan 1876	nr Churchville	25 Jan 1876
Hoke, William	4 Feb 1876	Greenbrier Co., WV	22 Feb 1876
Honaker, James L.		Greenbrier Co., WV	29 Feb 1876
Hopewell, Edwin Stephens			25 Apr 1876
Hopkins, Warren M., Col.	19 Dec 1875	Washington County	4 Jan 1876
Houston, Bill	28 Apr 1876	nr Staunton	2 May 1876
Housworth, Cora	22 Sep 1876		3 Oct 1876
Hoxton, William, Rev.	31 May 1876	Richmond	13 Jun 1876
Humphries, Issabella	18 Jul 1876	nr New Hope	18 Jul 1876
Hunter, S. McD.	15 Apr 1876	nr South River	18 Apr 1876
Hunter, Sheldon E.	1 Mar 1876	Mound City, IL	21 Mar 1876
Huntley, Susan Letitia	26 May 1876	Staunton	30 May 1876
Huntly, Gideon Jackson	27 Dec 1875		1 Feb 1876
Hutcheson, John	5 Aug 1876	Mobile, AL	15 Aug 1876
Hutchins, Drucilla	5 Jul 1876	nr Newport	5 Sep 1876

Irick, Fanny, Mrs.	2 Jun 1876	Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	13 Jun 1876
Jarvis, Elizabeth	17 Jan 1876	Rockbridge County	1 Feb 1876
Jefferson, T.	Monday	Shenandoah County	15 Mar 1876
Johns, Edward	8 Sep 1876	nr Churchville	26 Sep 1876
Johns, John, Bishop	5 Apr 1876	Alexandria	4 Apr 1876
Johnston, Susan Caroline	2 Apr 1876	Baltimore Co., MD	4 Apr 1876
Jones, Mary Berkeley	28 Aug 1876	Hanover County	12 Sep 1876
Jordan, Joseph Baldwin	2 Jun 1876	Rockbridge County	25 Jul 1876
Jordan, Sallie E.	10 Jul 1876	Philadelphia, PA	1 Aug 1876
Kabler, Rose A., Mrs.	18 Feb 1876	Campbell County	20 Feb 1876
Keller, Eugene	12 June 1876	Mt. Olive	4 Jul 1876
Keller, Frederick	1 Apr 1839	nr Churchville	2 May 1876
Keller, John, Jr.	1 Jan 1876	nr Valley Mills	25 Jan 1876
Keller, Magdalene	18 Apr 1876	nr Churchville	2 May 1876
Keller, W.J., Mrs. (Amelia Jane)	Friday	West View	26 Dec 1876
Keller, Xenophon	15 Jun 1876	Rockingham County	4 Jul 1876
Kelley, Joseph	20 Sep 1876	Rockbridge County	3 Oct 1876
Ker, Edmund Bayley	3 May 1876	Staunton	9 May 1876
Kerr, Lola P., Mrs.	5 Oct 1876		10 Oct 1876
Kielty, Timothy	10 Feb 1876	Richmond	22 Feb 1876
King, Agnes M., Mrs.	17 May 1876	Staunton	23 May 1876
King, Wm. W.	1864	Augusta County	29 Aug 1876
Koiner, Sarah Catherine, Mrs.	14 Sep 1876	Waynesboro	10 Oct. 1876
Kremer, Carlisle	21 June 1876	Waynesboro	27 Jun 1876
Lacy, Maggie A., Mrs.	15 Sep 1876	Staunton	26 Sep 1876
Lambert, Chas. Perrie	23 Jun 1876		27 June 1876
Landrum, Betty	13 Aug 1876	nr Staunton	22 Aug 1876
Langhorne, Geo. W., Rev.	3 Feb. 1876	Richmond	8 Feb 1876
Lanius, John W., Col.	21 Apr 1876	Monroe, Co., WV	2 May 1876
Lantz, Christian		Rockingham County	6 Jun 1876
Larew, Mary J., Mrs.	18 Jan 1876	Greenville	8 Feb 1876
Laymen, John	2 Jun 1876	Waynesboro	6 Jun 1876
Leech, Texie L., Mrs.	14 Feb 1876	Monroe Co., WV	21 Mar 1876
Legg, Willis	2 Feb 1876	Salt Sulphur Springs	15 Feb 1876
Lightner, Jacob	5 May 1876	Augusta County	16 May 1876
Lineburner, Geo.	recently	St. Charles, MO	1 Mar 1876
Lipscomb, Fitzhugh	7 Jun 1876	Staunton	13 Jun 1876
Lockridge, A.V., Rev.	15 Jan 1876	nr Ringgold, GA	8 Feb 1876
Loving, Minneola	Sunday	Staunton	13 Jun 1876
Lowman, Sam'l	Apr 1876	Botetourt County	18 Apr 1876
Lyons, Margaret, Mrs.	3 May 1876	nr Staunton	16 May 1876
Magnum, Dock	22 Jan 1876	Tennessee	1 Feb 1876
Maitland, Amanda, Mrs.	9 Aug 1876	Lexington, Rockbridge Co.	15 Aug 1876
Major, Wm. W.	3 Jan 1876	nr Ben Salem Church	18 Jan 1876
Manning, Fannie E., Mrs.	5 Jul 1876	Prince Edward County	18 Jul 1876
Martin, Dennis, colored	25 Dec 1876	Rockingham County	26 Dec 1876

Mason, Elizabeth Ann, Mrs.	5 Jun 1876	Rockingham County	13 Jun 1876
Massincup, Charles Wellington	17 Jun 1876	nr Staunton	20 Jun 1876
Mathews, Henry Edgar	23 Sep 1876	Greenbrier Co., WV	3 Oct 1876
Mauzy, George	14 Apr 1876	Jefferson Co., WV	2 May 1876
Mayes, M., Mrs.	13 Dec 1876	Greenville	26 Dec 1876
Mayhew, Sarah Maria	7 Jan 1876	Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	18 Jan 1876
Mays, Nora Bell	26 May 1876	Staunton	30 May 1876
McClintic,	8 Jul 1876	Greenbrier Co., WV	4 Jul 1876
McClung, Addie Walker	20 Apr 1876	Highland County	9 May 1876
McClure, Hugh	7 Oct 1876	on Portersfield's Run	21 Nov 1876
McCutchen, James	Sunday	Elizabeth Furnace	11 Jan
McDaniel, Carrie S.		Berkeley County	27 Jun 1876
McDowell, Mary	2 Dec 1875	Paris, France	18 Jan 1876
McElhenny, Rebecca, Mrs.	12 Feb 1876	Greenbrier Co., WV	22 Feb 1876
McElwee, Trigg, Miss	19 Sep 1876	Louisville, KY	10 Oct 1876
McFall, Willie Stuart	19 Jan 1876	Mt. Solon	25 Jan 1876
McGuire, Robert L., Dr.	10 Apr 1876	Fauquier County	2 May 1876
Menefee, Thos. K., Capt.	Thurs.	Hamshire Co., WV	25 Jul 1876
Menefee, Winter	Sunday		3 Oct 1876
Messersmith, Eliza J., Mrs.	23 Apr 1876	Harrisonburg, Rockingham Co.	2 May 1876
Michel, Peter, Mrs.	25 Apr 1876	Highland County	9 May 1876
Miller, Ann Margaret	21 Jun 1876	Rockingham County	4 Jul 1876
Miller, Cornelius	Tuesday	nr Greenville	29 Aug 1876
Miller, Cornelius G.	22 Aug 1876	nr Greenville	7 Nov 1876
Miller, Daniel, Mrs.	Saturday	nr Spring Hill	26 Dec 1876
Miller, Eliza, Mrs.	17 Jan 1876	nr Staunton	25 Jan 1876
Miller, son of Solomon, dec'd	Thursday	on Long Meadows	26 Dec 1876
Miller, William	20 May 1876	Staunton	23 May 1876
Milleson, Mary H., Mrs.	16 May 1876	Hampshire Co., WV	9 May 1876
Mitchell, William J.	21 Apr 1876	Providence, RI	2 May 1876
Montague, Lawrence McQuaide	15 Jun 1876	Jefferson Co., WV	27 Jun 1876
Moon, Richard	2 Jan 1876	Dallas, Texas	15 Feb 1876
Moore, Caroline Cottinger	7 Aug 1876	Washington, DC	15 Aug 1876
Moore, Mary C.	23 Mar 1876	Rockbridge County	28 Mar 1876
Moore, Virginia	26 Mar 1876	Kenton Co., KY	25 Apr 1876
Moorman, Jno, S.	Monday	Staunton	20 Aug 1876
Mosby, John W.	20 Dec 1875	Nelson County	11 Jan 1876
Moseley, Rebecca	26 Jun 1876	Staunton	27 Jun 1876
Murray, Hugh	Saturday	Brooklyn, NY	25 Jan 1876
Myers, Catherine, Mrs.	18 Apr 1876	Rockingham County	2 May 1876
Myers, Henry	20 Jun 1876	New Hope	27 Jun 1876
Myers Sarah A., Mrs.	8 Dec 1876	Barton Co., MO	4 Jan 1876
Myers, Wm. H.	21 Jun 1876	New Hope	4 Jul 1876
Myers, Wm. H.	19 Aug 1876	nr Pleasant Grove	22 Aug 1876
Nelson, Wm. Meade Rev	8 Jul 1876	Charlottesville, Albemarle Co.	18 Jul 1876
Newman, Catherine, Mrs.	9 Jan 1876	Ross Co., OH	8 Feb 1876
Nisewander, Elizabeth, Mrs.	17 Apr 1876	Rockingham County	23 May 1876
Noel, Chas. L.	Monday	Shenandoah County	15 Mar 1876
Noon, Hugh D.	20 Sep 1876	Argenta, AR	3 Oct 1876

O'Donell, C.T.	7 Sep 1869	Rockingham County	25 Jul 1876
O'Ferrall, Mabel T.	12 Jul 1876	nr Richmond	8 Aug 1876
O'Kealty, Lawrence	yr or two ago	Hampshire Co., WV	22 Feb 1876
Olivier, George Staton	12 May 1876	Staunton	16 May 1876
Ott, Enos	21 Jul 1876	nr Moffett's Creek	19 Dec 1876
Patrick, Charles	27 Jan 1855	Augusta County	29 Aug 1876
Paxton, Sarah, Mrs.	24 Jun 1876	Rockbridge County	15 Aug 1876
Peck, Jno. Adams	25 Nov 1876	nr Staunton	28 Nov 1876
Peterson, John W.	22 Sep 1876	nr Swoope's Depot	3 Oct 1876
Peyton, Edwin S.	Sunday	Charlottesville, Albemarle Co.	20 Jun 1876
Pilson, infant son	3 Jun 1876		13 Jun 1876
Pinkerton, Wm., Rev.	12 Mar 1875	nr Mt. Carmel Church	26 Sep 1876
Plaughner, male	19 Jan 1876	Rockingham County	8 Feb 1876
Pogue, James	15 Nov 1876	Augusta County	21 Nov 1876
Points, Adelle, Mrs.	24 Sep 1876	Staunton	3 Oct 1876
Pole, John G.	14 Aug 1876	Lexington, Rockbridge Co.	25 Aug 1876
Porter, John, Uncle	23 Jul 1876	Staunton	25 Jul 1876
Poyntz, Leondias Carter,	11 Jul 1876	Staunton	1 Aug 1876
Prince, Abram	5 Jul 1876	Page County	18 Jul 1876
Propes, Daniel	18 Apr 1876	nr New Hope	25 Apr 1876
Purcell, M.F.E., Mrs.	24 Feb 1876	Washington, DC	1 Mar 1876
Radford, Jesse	Wednesday	nr West View	18 Jul 1876
Ramsey, Mary Steele, Mrs.	17 Jun 1876	Big Calf Pasture River	17 Jun 1876
Randall, Nancy	14 Jan 1876	Staunton	18 Jan 1876
Reherd, Lewis	25 Feb 1876	Rockingham County	1 Mar 1876
Riddle, Sarah, Mrs.	13 Dec 1875	Rockingham County	18 Jan 1876
Rinehart, Jacob, Maj.	28 Mar 1876	Jefferson Co., WV	18 Apr 1876
Rippetoe, Ross	19 Feb 1876	Rockingham County	1 Mar 1876
Rippetoe, Ella V., Mrs.		Buffalo Gap	22 Feb 1876
Rippetoe, John E.	Monday	Buffalo Gap	5 Dec 1876
Rivercomb, Rebecca Jane	27 Jul 1876	Rockingham County	1 Aug 1876
Rives, Alexander J., M.D.	1 May 1876	Bolivar, MS	16 May 1876
Roadcap, Emanuel, Mrs.	21 Jan 1876	Rockingham County	8 Feb 1876
Roberts, Maria J.	28 Aug 1876	Rockingham County	5 Sep 1876
Roberts, Thomas, Rev.	17 Sep 1876	Nelson County	26 Sep 1876
Roller, Peter	7 Oct 1876	Rockingham County	17 Oct 1876
Rose, Charles F.	12 Mar 1876	Richmond	21 Mar 1876
Rosenberger, Florence	29 Oct 1876	Rosenvale, Augusta Co.	7 Nov 1876
Rowan, James	15 Aug 1876	Augusta County	29 Aug 1876
Ruebush, John	25 Apr 1876	nr Weyer's Cave	16 May 1876
Ryan, James W.	29 Aug 1876	Clarke County	17 Oct 1876
Ryan, Richard D.	28 Nov 1876	Staunton	5 Dec 1876
Saum, Lizzie M., Mrs.	25 Aug 1876	Shenandoah County	12 Sep 1876
Saunders, Malinda, Mrs.	18 Dec 1875	Greenbrier Co., WV	4 Jan 1876
Savage, Louisa B.	1 Feb 1876	Charlottesville, Albemarle Co.	8 Feb 1876
Savage, T.W., Capt	27 Jan 1876	Charlottesville, Albemarle Co.	8 Feb 1876
Schmitt, John R.	Monday	Staunton	11 Jan 1876

Scott, Elizabeth S.	18 Oct 1876	Camden, AR	21 Nov 1876
Shaw, Lorenzo D.	13 Mar 1876	Staunton	21 Mar 1876
Shearer, Anne L.	22 Apr 1876	Appomattox County	2 May 1876
Sheets, Daniel	18 Aug 1876	Shenandoah County	29 Aug 1876
Sheets, Jonathan	13 Jul 1876	Augusta County	1 Aug 1876
Sheets, Simon P.	25 Apr 1876	Rockingham County	9 May 1876
Shiflett, Albert E.	10 Oct 1876	nr Staunton	17 Oct 1876
Shiflett, Sarah Julia	8 Nov 1876	nr Craigsville	31 Oct 1876
Shoemaker, Ida C.	28 Dec 1875	Rockbridge County	1 Feb 1876
Shuey, Geo. A., Rev.	22 Oct 1876	nr Churchville	31 Oct 1876
Shuey, Martin, Gen.	recently	Alamada, CA	1 Mar 1876
Shuff, Nancy	29 Sep 1876	Rockbridge County	10 Oct 1876
Shumaker, Peter, Rev.	20 Feb 1876	nr Pleasant Valley	1 Mar 1876
Simms, Florence Bell	19 Sep 1876	"Oak Grove"	4 Jan 1876
Smith, Anna Gray, Mrs.	18 Dec 1875	Centre Co., PA	4 Jan 1876
Smith, Emma	30 Mar 1876	Hartford, Co., MD	25 Apr 1876
Smith, Jno. F., Capt	Monday	nr Staunton	18 Jan 1876
Smith, Larua, negro	Saturday	nr Greenville	8 Aug 1876
Smith, Mary, Mrs.	8 Jun 1876	Greenville	3 Oct 1876
Smith, Richard Price	24 Sep 1876	Greenville	24 Oct 1876
Snyder, Susie Bell	14 Oct 1876	Staunton	24 Oct 1876
Steele, Francis A.	20 Jan 1876	Baltimore, MD	1 Feb 1876
Stirewalt, Homer William	24 Feb 1876	Page County	14 Mar 1876
Stombach, Eugene	Monday	Mt. Solon	15 Aug 1876
Stover, Catharine, Mrs.	20 Jul 1876	Mt. Sidney	8 Aug 1876
Stover, Christopher	16 Mar 1868	nr Barterbrook	26 Dec 1876
Strickler	17 Jan 1876	Rockbridge County	1 Feb 1876
Sublett, Anne P., Mrs.	2 Jan 1876	Powhatan County	11 Jan 1876
Sublett, Maggie D.	10 nov 1876	Richmond	21 Nov 1876
Summers, Eli	5 Jan 1876	Rockingham County	18 Jan 1876
Swartz, Elizabeth, Mrs.	19 May 1876	Rockbridge County	30 May 1876
Switzer, Margaret, Mrs.	27 May 1876	Rockingham County	6 Jun 1876
Swoope, J.H., Rev.	30 Mar 1876	Des Moines, IA	4 Apr 1876
Sydenstrickler, Elizabeth, Mrs.	9 Feb 1876		22 Feb 1876
Tate, Eleanor G.F., Mrs.	19 Aug 1876	Culpeper County	12 Sep 1876
Taylor, Henry	21 Dec 1875	Williamstown, KY	4 Jan 1876
Tebbs, Maria L., Mrs.	4 Aug 1876	Loudoun County	15 Aug 1876
Templeton, Sarah, Mrs.	19 May 1876	Rockbridge County	30 May 1876
Thom, Ellen Thorton	28 Aug 1876	King William County	10 Oct 1876
Thomas, Ed.	Sunday	Albemarle County	25 Jul 1876
Thorn, Wm.	Mar 1876	Rockbridge County	21 Mar 1876
Timberlake, Jechoniah L.	21 Jun 1876	Staunton	27 Jun 1876
Trueheart, Daniel J.	28 Jan 1876	Houston, TX	15 Mar 1876
Turner, B.C., Mrs.	3 Feb 1876	Winchester, Frederick Co.	15 Feb 1876
Turner, Mollie, Mrs.	24 Aug 1876	Staunton	29 Aug 1876
Tyree, John		Sherando	29 Aug 1876
Tyree, Willie Rollins	31 Aug 1876		5 Sep 1876

Vander, infant	13 Apr 1876	Highland County	9 May 1876
Van Lear, Jacob	Wednesday	on Christian's Creek	21 Nov 1876
Walker, W.S.	Tuesday	nr Staunton	23 May 1876
Walsh, Rev. Mr	8 Dec 1875	Berkeley Co., WV	4 Jan 1876
Walsh, William A.	25 Jul 1876	Alleghany County	8 Aug 1876
Walton, R.T., Mrs.	20 Apr 1876	Rockbridge County	2 May 1876
Washington, Catherine T., Mrs.	18 Sep 1876	Jefferson Co., WV	10 Oct 1876
Waterman, Levi, Esq.	Friday	Washington County	28 Mar 1876
White, Bowman St. Clair	Friday	Wood Co., WV	3 Oct 1876
Wiley, Jos. G.	Sunday	Staunton	3 Oct 1876
Wilkins, H.M., Mr.	5 Jan 1876	Rockingham County	13 Jun 1876
Wilkins, Lucy, Mrs.	recently	Parnassus	12 Sep 1876
Williams, Kate Mrs.	17 Apr 1876	Hampshire Co., WV	9 May 1876
Williams, Serena	16 Sep 1876	Baltimore, MD	26 Sep 1876
Wilson, Jas. C., Rev	1839	Augusta County	29 Aug 1876
Wilson, Thos. E., Dr.	15 Aug 1876	Roanoke County	22 Aug 1876
Winifree, Mrs.	11 Mar 1876	Bath County	28 Mar 1876
Wiseman, Susan Jane, Mrs.	21 Dec 1875	nr Middlebrook	4 Jan 1876
Withrow, Ann, Mrs.	7 Jul 1876	West Virginia	25 Jul 1876
Withrow, Howard Gordon	27 Feb 1876	Danville, KY	14 Mar 1876
Witten, C.B., Mrs.	8 Feb 1876	Lynchburg, VA	15 Nov 1876
Witzel, Polly	16 Jul 1876	Rockingham County	1 Aug 1876
Wood, David H., Maj.	20 Mar 1876	Albemarle County	18 Apr 1876
Wood, Matilda A. L., Mrs.	1 Jan 1876	Fairfax County	14 Feb 1876
Wood, R.L.	Monday	Shenandoah County	14 Mar 1876
Woodward, John P.	23 Mar 1876	nr Craigsville	4 Apr 1876
Woodward, Sarah	20 Mar 1876	nr Craigsville	4 Apr 1876
Woodward, William	10 Dec 1876	Staunton	12 Dec 1876
Wright, Isaac	5 Jun 1876	Rockingham County	13 Jun 1876
Wright, J. William	2 weeks ago	Wyoming Territory	18 Apr 1876
Wright, Jos.	24 Oct 1876	nr Naked Creek	31 Oct 1876
Yeager, Conrad	21 Mar 1876	Staunton	4 Apr 1876
Yeager, Kate E.	20 Mar 1876	Staunton	28 Mar 1876
Yeager, Mary E.	27 Mar 1876	Staunton	28 Mar 1876
Young, John	5 May 1876	nr Staunton	16 May 1876
Young, Lizzie, Mrs.	3 May 1876	Gilmer, Co., WV	6 Jun 1876

Centennial Celebration of the Beverley Manor Chapter NSDAR, Staunton, Va.

Cally Ross Wiggin

Distinguished guests and sister daughters of the American Revolution:

Today we are met to celebrate one hundred years of Beverley Manor Chapter, NSDAR. My assignment is to give you an account of those hundred years. Since it is impossible in the

time I'm allotted to do justice to the entire period, I plan to concentrate on the early years—1893-1918—of the chapter's history when the National Society was less structured and our chapter free to initiate its own programs.

I am indebted to the late Helen Moore and Beirne Kerr for some of the material I am using. Historic Staunton Foundation's Pictorial History is the source for the information on our city in the 1890's.

At that time Grover Cleveland was serving his second term as president; Queen Victoria had been on the throne of England fifty-five years. In Staunton the harsh days of reconstruction were over and the city entered "a period of unparalleled growth and prosperity that lasted until nineteen hundred: — a period called "the Boom Years." Transportation was largely responsible for this phenomenon. The "rail system connected to every point of the compass." The Chesapeake and Ohio provided access to markets east and west while the Valley and the

Shenandoah Valley railroads ran north and south. Sending agricultural products to the north and east and in return receiving manufacturing goods and luxuries from the industrialized cities, Staunton flourished. Hundreds of business enterprises were established during these boom years. Affluent merchants erected and remodeled impressive commercial structures and built palatial homes.

One such entrepreneur was Dr. S.P. Hite whose vegetable remedies were reputed to "banish obstinate and dangerous diseases". Hite's Pain Cure claimed to heal every malady from typhoid fever to frost bite!

Lawyers had always been in good supply as the county seat was located in the city, but now physicians, accountants and other professionals set up practice.

Along with the influx of these, Staunton boasted a telephone system, street cars, electric lights, a municipal park, a public market and an opera house. Four schools for young ladies flourished—two of which exist today—Mary Baldwin College (Augusta Female Seminary) and Stuart Hall (Virginia Female Institute)—plus Captain Kable's Boys Academy which

became Staunton Military Academy. Secret societies also abounded: Masons, Odd Fellows, Red Man, Knights of Phthias, Good Templars.

During this prosperous time, or because of it, a real estate boom hit the valley. The Staunton Development Company was formed, folding a few years later. One significant contribution it made was to bring to Staunton the architect T.J. Collins and his sons. By 1911 he had designed or remodeled over two hundred structures—Emmanuel Episcopal Church, St. Francis Catholic Church, the Augusta County Courthouse as well as many private homes. The unmistakable Victorian character of Staunton's architecture is a result of his and other builders work during the boom years.

This was Staunton in 1893 when Mrs. Alexander Farish Robertson invited twelve ladies to her home, Stuart House built by her grandfather Archibald Stuart in 1791, to discuss the possibility of organizing a chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. At that time the National Society was a mere three years old, while Virginia boasted only two chapters, Old Dominion in Richmond and Albemarle in Charlottesville. Four of the women invited were descended from signers of the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson Jr., Richard Bland and Carter Braxton; the others from the doctors, lawyers, and judges. Misses Mary Julia Baldwin and Mariah Pendleton Duval were connected with two of the female schools of the city.

After the granting of the chapter's charter in October, the first regular meeting was held on November 7th. Appropriately, Mrs. Robinson was named the first Regent. Other business included adopting "Beverley Manor" as the chapter name and deciding to meet on the 6th day of the month, unless it fell on Sunday, since the original Beverley Grant was signed on September 6th, 1736. The first four meetings were held at the Y.M.C.A. (the clock tower building) after which it was decided to meet at four o'clock in the members homes. Both program leaders and hostesses were to be chosen alphabetically. Later they drew straws for these assignments.

These first daughters then proceeded to the most important item on their agenda—the programs. Miss Duval, the historian, supplied each member present with a subject to be researched and read at a later meeting. "Believing" she said "such papers, although exceeding bitter pills, capable of promoting the growth and strength of the chapter." A course of studies on Virginia history was chosen for the first topic. Major Jed Hotchkiss was invited to present the 1861-65 war years, although outside speakers were seldom used. Subsequent topics were: the oldest American colleges, famous American authors (Irving, Hawthorne, Emerson, etc.) Colonial Homes, and current events.

Naturally most of our information about these happenings come from the detailed minutes kept by the recording secretaries. They deserve credit from the following gems: "Miss Maria Pendleton Duval (she of the 'bitter pills' above) a descendent of Robert Beverley, read some interesting extracts from the blank pages of an old family Bible".

Occasionally the chapter was unable to meet. "A combination of circumstances prevented the February, 1906 literary meeting, George Washington's birthday notwithstanding. There was illness in the family of the hostess: the program chairman was indisposed and there was a series of special services at the First Presbyterian Church."

Not only meetings were not held—minutes were not reported as in 1895:

"The Secretary having almost no minutes, they were not read."

And still later.

"As the secretary had resigned and the temporary secretary who took the minutes of the preceding meeting had left town, there were no minutes."

Finances were troublesome, too. In 1900 this touching lament. "The treasury is in a state of collapse."

And in 1903. "The treasurer gave a very disappointing report in that she said we only had \$4.50 in the treasury when we thought we had \$8.15."

And again in 1913. "The treasurer having an empty exchequer had no report to make."

In 1902 it was reported "we have \$14.35 in the bank which includes \$2.00 which can't be accounted for. We're grateful it is an increase!"

In spite of limited funds the daughters showed willing generosity. In 1904 a sum of \$100.00 was sent to the Virginia Building at the St. Louis Exposition, leaving \$.92 in the treasury.

By this time (1904) dues had increased from the original \$0.50 to \$1.50, of which \$1.00 was sent to the National Society. Absentees were fined \$0.05. Obviously the \$0.05 remaining in the chapters hands was not adequate for the many projects and requests demanded, although the membership had grown to fifty daughters. As a solution the ladies organized and put on various entertainments to which the public was invited—for a fee. Stereopticon shows, teas, lectures, colonial balls, pantomimes and Shakespearian plays were all produced, usually at the Opera House or the Y.M.C.A. Most were modestly successful from a financial standpoint, but one in 1900 was outstanding.

"The Daughters proceeded to congratulate themselves and each other on the success of the recent entertainment. The air was redolent of bouquets enthusiastically tossed to those who so generously gave their time and talent for our benefit. The one regret expressed was that we had not put the price of tickets higher."

Not everyone was pleased with the time and effort spent on these entertainments. In 1895 this irate comment "with deep regret the secretary records that the remainder of the afternoon was given up to the discussion of refreshments to be had at this coming lecture instead of the usual literary feast."

Along with the minutes, the programs, the finances and the entertainments, refreshments and social exchanges occupied the last half hour of the meetings.

Noted in the minutes "light refreshments were served in accordance with the hostess' idea of the eternal fitness of things."

Another entry read "tempting refreshments were daintily served."

Hot chocolate and cookies appeared in winter while in June, ices were served on the lawn under the trees.

And my favorite "the hostess served a Lady Baltimore cake and a glass of wine."

But, sad to say, by 1917 austerity has set in and the newly appointed chairman of conservation moved that "as the first practical step toward conservation we eliminate the refreshment feature from our meetings." You will be glad to hear that desserts were resumed in 1919.

So much for the droll and amusing happenings of our early years. In closing I want to pay sincere tribute to all the dedicated daughters of Beverley Manor who have served our chapter with distinction and devotion. Their names are prominent not only in our chapter's history, but in their civic contributions to Staunton and Augusta County.

Throughout the one hundred years Beverley Manor, like her sister chapters, has followed the agenda and causes of the National Society. In addition, on the local level, patriots graves have been marked, monuments and plaques erected. Being responsible for the moving of the stone boundary marker of William Beverley's grant to the Augusta County Court House was undoubtedly the most significant one.

From its beginning the chapter has been interested not only in preserving the past, but in present and future generations by sponsoring essays in the schools, awarding medals for good citizenship and giving scholarships to deserving students.

In recent times by nominating Ernest Dickerson in 1991 and Ed Clark in 1993 for the NSDAR Conservation Medal, which they received, we have shown our concern for the environment.

But our most lasting achievement is the restoration and preservation of the Augusta County Marriage Bonds—eighteen volumes plus one Will Book. These are invaluable records to students studying the past.

As we end our first hundred years of service, we look forward to the second, which a future speaker will describe.

I close with the words of one of the more literary recording secretaries, "After refreshments were served, the guests departed as the candles burned low."

CORRECTIONS

Jost Hite was a native of Bonfeld, Wuerttemberg not Strasburg. (Spring 1993, Augusta Historical Bulletin)

The McGilvray-Hanger house in Greenville, Virginia, was built in 1829. (Fall 1992, Augusta Historical Bulletin)

IN MEMORIAM

Barton D. Pattie
Gladys Oliver Wenner

NEW MEMBERS

Lili M. Acheson, Shrewsbury, New Jersey
The Barton Family, Colorado Springs, Colorado
Carol Copenhaver, Rivesville, West Virginia
Samuel M. Garber, Hampton Bays, New York
Patsy Lou Hamrick-Weikart, Fountain Valley, California
Mr. & Mrs. Lem Harrell, Staunton, Virginia
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas W. Henry, Lakewood, Colorado
Historic Staunton Foundation, Staunton, Virginia
Josephine Sanders, Lafayette, Indiana
Brian Westfall, Mountain View, California
William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia

Presidents of the Augusta County Historical Society

- * Dr. Richard P. Bell, 1964-1966
- * Harry Lee Nash, Jr., 1966-1967
- * Dr. Marshall M. Brice, 1967-1968
- * Dr. James Sprunt, 1968-1970
- * Richard M. Hamrick, Jr., 1970-1972
- † Joseph B. Yount III, 1972-1974
- * Mrs. William Bushman, 1974-1976
- * John M. Dunlap, Jr., 1976-1977
- Miss Mary Kathryn Blackwell, 1977-1979
- Mrs. Harry D. Hevener, 1979-1981
- * John M. McChesney, Jr., 1981-1983
- Mrs. John E. True, 1983-1985
- Edgar R. Coiner, 1985-1987
- Charles R. Chittum, 1987-1989
- * Mrs. William B. Patterson, 1989-1991
- * R. Fontaine McPherson, Jr., 1991-1993
- Dr. James B. Patrick, 1993-1995

- * Charter Member of Society
- † Honorary Charter Member